

A
CRITICAL and CHRONOLOGICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
Rise, Progress, Declension, *and* Revival
OF
KNOWLEDGE,
CHIEFLY RELIGIOUS.

IN TWO PERIODS.

- I. The PERIOD of *Tradition* from ADAM to MOSES.
- II. The PERIOD of *Letters* from MOSES to CHRIST.

IN TWO VOLUMES, QUARTO.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOL. II.

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A

CRITICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

Y R O T S I H

1717

Revival and Reformation

218

K N O W L E D G E

CHIEF, RELIGIOUS

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

The Period of Transition from Adam to Noah

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09-10-1968

P R E F A C E.

I HAVE now finished all I designed in this *Essay*, and have nothing further to subjoin, but to bespeak the Reader's Candor, in the Perusal of the Whole. Had I apprehended the Subject would have needed an Apology, I would not have undertaken it; and if my Manner of treating it requires any, it is now too late to attempt it.

My Station has not led me to so much Acquaintance with the Great and Learned, that could authorize my introducing this *Essay* into the World, under the Shelter of a great Name. Otherwise, I would have presumed to inscribe it to the Right Honourable the Lord WILLUGHBY of PARHAM; for whose high Character and known Learning, I am one, among many, who have a very great Veneration and profound Esteem.

ALL that I have to add, is, only to guard, as far as I can, against my Design's being liable to be misunderstood. This is not designed as an Historical, but a Chronological Work; and all of the first Kind is only in subserviency to the latter.

OBSERVE, therefore, 1. I have carried on this whole Treatise chiefly as a Chronological Work; and accordingly all the Dissertations interspersed, however occasional they may be thought to be, appeared to me either necessary, or at least very useful to illustrate that main Point; and to clear the regular Courte of Time, deduced from the Beginning downward, thro' all the successive Periods, into which bad Chronology has introduced such great Repugnancy betwixt Sacred and Profane Writers. So that, tho' several Heads may seem to require an Apology as to their Pertinency on this Subject of Chronology, as particularly the long Discourses on the Original of *Letters*, and their Traduction from the *Hebrews* to the *Pagan* World; yet I hope, by the judicious and learned Reader, they will be admitted to be really serviceable to clear up the Credibility of my Account of the Time when History could be supposed, among the *Pagans*, to have had its Beginning. Sooner it could not begin than *Moses's* Age, if the Art of *Writing* was first imparted to him: And again; if this Art was not much known in the World before the

Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, except perhaps among the *Phœnicians*, their nearest Neighbours, where *Cadmus* might meet with it ; then it will be obvious, that neither the History or Philosophy, the Poetry or Oratory of the Ancients could be supposed much higher than about that Age, except what could be preserved by Tradition.

AGAIN ; as this Tract professeth to be a Chronological History of *Religious Knowledge*, I persuade myself, it will not be thought foreign to my Design, to endeavour to explain the Introduction and Propagation both of *Letters* and *Learning*, which must have chiefly arose with them.

2. AGAIN ; another great Point, I had in View, was to illustrate the *Excellency* of the Sacred Volumes ; not only as containing the noblest System of *Religious Knowledge*, (on which Article, it has been abundantly opened before, by many able Writers) but even their Transcendency in all other Branches of Science, such as *Geography*, *Chronology*, and *History*.

WE do not, and could not know any Thing what Countries Mankind inhabited, in the earlier Ages after the Flood, when the new World properly begun to be peopled again ; except what we gather from *Moses's* Writings. And, tho' he seems not to have designed particularly to have wrote the Geography, or History, of any other People, but that of the *Hebrew Nation* ; yet, in order to deduce that Nation in its genuine Descent, from the Beginning, he carries the Genealogy of *Abraham* up to *Noah*, and from him to *Adam*. And yet here he is so exact, as to ascertain the Years of the Fathers Age successively, when they had their Sons, which make up the Line of Succession from *Adam* to *Abraham*, &c. for the Longevity of those Ages was so different from that of later Times, that there could be no arguing by the common Course of Nature now, to fix a Chronology from it, of those distant Times. Wherefore we cannot doubt but this Article was ascertained by *Revelation*.

AGAIN ; as to the Geography of the World at that Time, he distinctly describes *Abraham's* Original in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, his journeying to *Haran* ; afterwards his settling in *Canaan* ; then in *Egypt* ; and, finally, his Posterity removing back again to *Canaan* : All this is set down in such exact Geography, that one not only learns the Situation of those several Countries, with respect to each other ; but their Climates, the Temperature of their Air, whether hot or cold ; the Fertility, or Barrenness of their Soil ; and even the Congruity of their Arts and Manners answerable thereto, so far as we have any Accounts of either. This Geography of those Countries furnishes us with a good Illustration of the *Mosaic* History's being a natural Story, as to the Scene where the Actions were said to be done : If they lived in a warm Climate, their Shepherds watching their Flocks by Night, would be a customary Practice ; if they lived in a mountainous Country, then their general Occupation would be Pasturage ; if in a Plain, their more general Business would be Agriculture ; and, if on the Sea-Coasts, they would by their Situation

tion be naturally prone to the Maritime Life; as they became gradually skilful therein, and would naturally apply themselves thereto. And, tho' each must have had Occasion for the other's Produce, yet this would be most easily carried on by exchanging Commodities, as Corn and Fruits for Cattle, Wool, and Leather.

FURTHER; the Chronology of the Sacred Pages, doth not only clearly illustrate the Consistency of their own History, one Part with another, as to Time; and the Naturalness of the Facts related, as corresponding with the Age: But they help to adjust the Traditions of Pagan Antiquity, even concerning Points which they never once mention, and concerning the proper Age of which the Pagan Ancients were wholly ignorant.

THUS Sefac's Time was = Rehoboam's Reign, as the Scriptures tell us; and they inform us of the true Age of Rehoboam; but the Egyptians knew nothing when Sesostris set up the Empire, nor whether it was 100, 1000, or 10,000 Years from the Beginning. So the War of the Gods in Egypt was a Transaction wholly unknown, as to the Age when it happened. But, from the Scriptures, we know when Zerah the Ethiopian came against Judah, 2 Chron. xvi. and that that was a few Years after Shishac himself had invaded it from Egypt, 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3. So that this War of the Gods, (so famous in the Pagan Poets, was no other than the Civil Wars in Egypt about Shishac's Death; which were managed by the Ethiopians and Lybians, in which Zerah the Ethiopian was Conqueror, and by his assaulting Asa) happens to be mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures; and hereby the Age of the World, when these great Transactions happened, comes to be known.

AGAIN; tho' we have but few express Synchronisms afterwards, betwixt the Hebrew and the Pagan Affairs; yet we have the general One of the coinciding Generations, from Fathers to Sons in each Line; and those will calculate by the Ancestors from SESAC upwards, as far as the Pagans have any Accounts; and by the Posterity downwards, as far as either descend, as from SESAC to LEONIDAS = Xerxes, running parallel with the Hebrew History. There are also a few intermediate Synchronisms, as Sethon = Hezekiah = Sennacherib. Josiah = Nechus. Nebuchadnezzar = Jeconiah. Cyrus = Zerubbabel, &c.

3. THE Capital Articles of Pagan History must be also adjusted as to the TIME, purely by the Scriptures, for all the first Ages. We know not any other Way, how or WHEN the first Empires arose. The Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Chaldean, Median, or Persian, would have been lost in Chronological Story, but for the Old Testament.

WE could not have known WHEN Ambition and the Love of Empire began to damp the World, in its growing Infancy; WHEN the Loss of Liberty sensibly obstructed Industry and Invention; and occasioned so great a Part of the World to loiter in undisciplined Ignorance, and almost savage Slavery; who might probably have made much greater Proficiency in all the

the humanizing Arts, if they had farther enjoyed the proper *human* Distinction of *Liberty*.

4. I AM also apprehensive, that a different Sort of Chronological Tables, may have been expected, than are here to be met with. But, (1.) I proceeded not upon any Calculations of *Years* in the Course of *Pagan* Antiquity; because there appeared not to me any good Foundation for them, among the best ancient Writers. They at first reckoned their Calculations of *Time*, by the Succession of Generations, and three Generations to 100 or 120 Years. This the great Sir *Isaac Newton* has undeniably proved to have been their customary Way of computing. As *Herodotus* and *Dionysius Halicarn.* also assert.—I have therefore chosen to settle my Chronology, by reckoning the Successions from Father to Son, in the most regular Genealogies I was able to collect; and to bring them, as near as I could, parallel to the Succession in the Royal Line of *Judab*. Not that I suppose these Successions of their Kings Reigns were *all* near Equal, but that, *one with another*, they may be near it; and that the *same Number* of Successions took up nearly the same *Time*. And, as I think, we have an unquestionable Synchronism in *Sesae* and *Reboboam*, so all whom I have enumerated would be about the same Age of the World; and so ordinarily marry at least, if not die about the same Age of their Lives.

(2.) AND further; the *Hebrew* Line has not only the Number of *Reigns*, but the *Years* of their several Reigns; whereby we may easily perceive how naturally such Reigns may fill up such a Space of *Time*. So that this is every Way the best Standard of Chronology.

(3.) AGAIN; I have fixed on the *Herculean* Line from *LELEX* to *LEONIDAS*, both as the longest Line in *Greek* Story; and, as each particular Succession is marked with memorable Actions, and illustrated with several other Synchronisms in the Line of *EURYDICE* from *Lelex*; tho' it must be computed only from *that Course* of Succession in the *Spartan* Line, and not from the fictitious augmented Line of *ACRISIUS*, the Husband of *Eurydice*.

(4.) AGAIN; the *Hebrew* Line may quadrate with the *Spartan* very well. For *David* and *Solomon* both reigned long, and *Solomon* was one of the youngest of *David's* Sons. And in the *Spartan* Line, there were three Female Descents together, namely, *Sparta*, *Eurydice* and *Danae*. So that the fourth Descendent in the *Spartan* Line, *Perseus* might be near = *Reboboam*, the third in the *Hebrew* Line from *David*.

(5.) FURTHER; we may observe that the *Heathen* History, particularly in *Greece*, appears not to reach any higher than *Lelex*, *Inachus*, and *Pelafgus*, as the first Ancestors they can name; or *Eurotas*, *Phoroneus*, *Lycaon*, *Cecrops*, and *Deucalion* in the second Line in their Descents. They were commonly *Autochthones*, or sprung out of their native Earth, as having no human Ancestor which they could name before them.

(6.) THIS

(6.) THIS seems plainly to intimate, that they thought themselves to be descended from another Region, that they invaded this Country; and were the Heads and Leaders of the new Colonies, which planted these new Habitations, and overcoming the old Inhabitants, if there were any, they called the several Regions by their own Names. This I take to be the Original of the principal *Greek* Nations; and also, that they were the *Pastors* of *Egypt*, which were expelled from thence, according to *Manetho*. And that therefore again, the Plantation of *Greece* was about the Time of that Expulsion.

AFTER I had fixed these Heads of their History, as well as I was able, either by express History, or the fairest Inferences from it, I then laboured to find out the true Story of their *Times*, by considering all contemporary *Actions* performed by contemporary *Actors*; as when they engaged in the same Wars, either against each other, or Confederates with each other; as the *Argonautic*, the *Theban* and *Trojan* Wars; for these must be near Contemporaries, who fought together. Other great Synchronisms are their *Marriages*, as towards the Head of the *Herculean* Family, *Pretus* = *Acrius* + *Eurydice* = *Amyclas*, and *Xanthus* + *Crensa*, synchronizing the Houses of *Attica* and *Deucalion*. Or, when the Descent of one is not so clear, yet the Marriage of their Children settles the Age of the Party unknown, as by the Marriages of the Sons of *Perseus* with the Daughters of *Pelops*, it is proved that *Perseus* = *Pelops*. Tho' *Pelops*'s Age is otherwise more uncertain. By all these Synchronisms of Marriages, or other contemporary Actions, and the Genealogical Descents of the Parties, several Errors in their Histories are easily confuted, and the Account rectified. Thus the arbitrary, fictitious Numbers of *Years*, in the successive Reigns of the *Argive* Kings, and the fictitious Numbers of *Reigns* in the Kingdom of *Sicyon*, are each confuted, or rectified, by their own Genealogies. These bring the Story into Probability and Nature. And it is as much and as genuine a Part of their History, that there were such *Marriages*, as that there were such *Kings*. But that their *Kings* reigned so long successively, is not agreeable to Nature; and tho' there had been no Exception as to the *Length* of each *Reign*, 'tis alike incongruous to suppose such a Number of *Reigns* in the little Kingdom of *Sicyon*, when there is not one State in all *Greece* which had any Hint of Government among them, for several Ages after this fabulous Date of the Kingdom of *Sicyon*.

5. I AM aware of a twofold Objection that may be made to my Manner of treating the Subject; namely, (1.) That I have inserted too many and too minute Articles in the ancient History, which is now obsolete by its Distance in Time, and which is thrust out of Remembrance by later and more interesting Transactions; as the Affairs of ancient *Egypt*, and those of the *Messenian* War.

(2.) OTHERS

(2.) OTHERS may object my too great Silence concerning the History of the later Ages, when *Writing* became more common, Authors more frequent and copious, and so History better and more full. So that I may be blamed for being too copious in the first, and too sparing in the second.

With respect to the first Objection, I observe, that I was not entirely unapprized of it. I was sensible that there are few Persons in our modern Times who read the History of *Sesostris*, or *Bacchus*, or *Osiris*; of *Orus*, the last of the Gods; or of *Menes*, the first mortal Monarch after the Gods; in any other View than as ancient Fables, in which there is no Expectation of any Historical Truth being to be gathered out of them.

But, in a Course of Chronology, to be deduced in a new Way, *namely*, by the Genealogies of *Paganism*, I found myself obliged to endeavour to verify the Lines of their Descents, by their *own* History, as far as I could. I took the Line of Time from the Beginning, according to the *Scriptures*, as far as they went forward alone, without any parallel Stories among the *Pagans*. But, as soon as I could perceive any parallel History to begin, which seemed to have the Appearance of any regular Continuation, I laboured to confirm the Truth of all the *Pagan* Descents, by all the History I could possibly collect, in order to adjust the synchronal Time, in as perfect a Manner as possibly I could, by such History as we have left of those Ages. Now, as *Egypt* was near *Judea*, and also the first Country in the *Pagan* World that really grew considerable; for these Reasons, it may be thought probable, that *Egypt* would furnish the most genuine and most ample ancient History in all the *Pagan* World. For, as being the greatest Kingdom, there would probably be both more Materials to write upon, and more Men of Learning and Leisure to compose their History, and digest their Records.

AGAIN; about the *Time* when I suppose their History to begin, the Knowledge of *Letters* probably arrived in *Egypt*. Again, further; that being the Country with which the ancient *Greeks* had the most common and early Correspondence, from all these Particulars arose a tolerable Continuation of their History downwards, from *Sesostris's* Days to the Fall of the Empire, which is to be met with in *Herodotus*. But, as the *Egyptians* were as totally ignorant as the *Greeks*, or any other Nation, with respect to the true Chronology of the World, it was necessary to adjust the Time of the Beginning of History among them, by some clear parallel Time in the *Hebrew* Story. This I have, with the Great *Newton*, the true Father of Chronology, fixed to be the Reign of *Shishac*=*Rehoboam*. However, as these are very perplexed Accounts in *Herodotus* or *Diodorus*, because of the Number of fabulous Years intermixed, I thought it necessary to enlarge in this History as much as the Materials would allow; and, by comparing the *Egyptian* Story with that of the *Hebrews*, and even the *Greeks* also, I endeavoured, by all together, to make out the Probability of each Reign. Accordingly; when I could meet with no public Actions which marked the successive Reigns in *Egypt*, I

was forced to content myself with their Buildings and other great Works, as Cities, Palaces, or Pyramids, Obilisks, or great Canals, which would appear worthy of the Grandeur and Power and Wealth of the *Egyptian* Monarchy. In this therefore, obliged to be copious, I persuade myself it will be excused as necessary to clear the Chronology; tho' I do not pretend it to be very entertaining.

AGAIN; as to the *Messenian* Affairs, tho' much later than the *Egyptian* Ones; yet I own them also, much out of modern Notice; notwithstanding I thought them necessary to be more enlarged upon, for the same Reason, *namely*, to clear the Succession of Time from the Return of the *Herculean* Family into *Peloponnesus*. If there were so many Successions of the *Spartan* Kings, and each of them distinctly marked with particular Characters of Action, or Inaction, we may conclude that the Line of Succession is a genuine One, consisting of such a Number of Reigns in lineal Descents, and parallel to the royal Line of *Judah*, during the Time given. And, if I have erred in Prolixity on the *Messenian* Story, more than was necessary to ascertain the Line of the Genealogy, I hope a Passion for Liberty, will be admitted an Apology for what some may take to be unnecessary Excursions, and procure my Excuse, at least among *Britons*.—I acknowledge, I could not pass it over without some particular Remarks. I take it to be the most illustrious Story in the *Pagan* Antiquity; though too little regarded by the Curious, and much too little familiarized to common Readers of History. The Wars of *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, of *Augustus* and *Anthony*, and all the other great Contest for the *Sovereignty* of the World, seem in my Opinion much meaner Things, because infinitely irrational. For it is an Affectation of Power, out of all Proportion exorbitant and enormous, for any *one* Man to aspire at universal Empire; any Person who had not more of the Brute, than the Man, in his Composition, should methinks blush to claim it.

BUT the *MESSENIAN* War was a most noble and Patriot Contest of Self-Defence; where a most flagrant private Injury was defended by the State of *Sparta*, on no other Views but those of cursed Avarice and Ambition, that they might get an Occasion of breaking with the *Messenians*, and so have a Pretext of taking their Country from them.

If ever Men appear virtuous and amiable in War, it is when they undertake it on virtuous Motives; of which Self-Defence is the most obviously justifiable, by the original Laws of Nature itself. These gallant Men may be justly considered in the most virtuous, humane and lovely Character, even with Swords in their Hands, and Schemes of Slaughter in their Heads and Hearts. If ever there was such an Age of Heroes, they were these virtuous and heroic *Messenians*; who, tho' they fought with the most determined Gallantry, yet it was not to gain their Enemies Country, but to save their own. They engaged in the most faithful Patriot War of Self-Defence, against the joint Efforts of Perfidy, Policy and Power. What

generous and humane Heart could look on, and see the brave EUPHAES fall, and not weep with his afflicted People, while they all, like his Orphan Children, wept over his glorious, paternal Wounds? Could one see their next brave Prince sinking under the Weight of his Country's Fate, and bleeding on his beloved Daughter's Tomb, himself, another noble self-devoted Victim, offered by the same royal Hand? One might read with dry Eyes the Story of the Fall of an hundred Tyrants, either in the Field or Senate-House; as *Julius, Caligula, Julian, &c.* what did the World lose by *Cæsar's* Death, or the other successful Destroyers of our Species, who were no other than the general Butchers of human Nature?

But could one see (and not be moved,) the great ARISTOMINES, the *Messenian* Hero, with every generous Passion for his Country glowing at his Heart; betrayed not conquered; never equalled in his own, or almost any Age, in Sagacity or Activity, in Stratagem or daring Enterprise, in Courage and Fortitude, or intrepid national Virtue; yet again betrayed by accursed Bribery and Lust; to see that great Man, with a daring Intrepidity, always unconquered, leading off the Remnant of that brave and noble People, to some other Country, where the Power of Tyrants had not yet reached? Methinks not *Leonidas*, or the *Theban Epaminondas*, were greater than he; not *Alexander*, or *Cæsar* worthy to be named with him. This *Messenian* Story is so apt for a *Briton's* Ear, that I hope my dear Countrymen will forgive the Revival of it, tho' that glorious People have been long since extinct. In this Land are their Successors sprung up, the Advocates for Liberty, and yet remain. And I hope they will, under Kings of a like noble Taste, flourish as long as national Virtue lasts, and will permit them to be great and free. And may *such* Kings, of our present royal Family, continue to reign over *such* a People, and may they live for ever!

2. As to the second Objection, that I have been too sparing in my Account of more modern, or the later Parts of the antient History.— I (r.) observe that many of those are taken Notice of, as far as I apprehended them necessary in this chronological Work, for the Illustration of that Part. But, as to many other Parts of the antient profane History, such as describing their Empires, and the Methods of Erecting them. I found no Delight in the Perusal of them myself, and hoped I might be excused from a Task which afforded me little but Disgust.

If any have a Pleasure in these Studies, they may betake themselves to *French* Authors, who will be more like to relish the Subject, as being so accustomed to the Encomiums of the *Grand Monarque*. Slaves may learn how Slaves were made, so many Years ago, and the Loss of the Liberties of *Greece*, by *Philip* and *Alexander*, will probably appear very similar to the Loss of the Liberties of *France* under the tyrannic Ministers of *Richieu* and *Mazarine*, and the despotic Sway of *Lewis XIV.* But the natural Study of *Britons* should, and doubtless will, be to learn how *Slavery* may

may be prevented. And there are so many great Proficients in the noble Science of *Liberty* in our Senates, and on the Bench and Wool-Pack, as are far from needing any minute Suggestions from so mean a Hand as an obscure Chronologer.

(2.) I FURTHER remark, that there seems not to be much Occasion for enlarging on the antient Wars or Policies, which might be congruous to that Age, but very unsynchronal to ours. The Genius and Manners of different Ages and Countries do so widely differ, and those of the same Climates and Countries in different Ages, do receive such a different Cast and Turn, by their different Education, Customs and Habits of Life, that they cannot be so usefully proposed, either as an Example to excite Imitation; or as Monitions against the Evils into which they lapsed; which might be of a Kind, of which we are not in much Danger. Some Ages carried on all their Affairs with such a Spirit of Heroism, such daring and disinterested Courage and Gallantry, that Avarice scarce seemed to mix with their Ambition. As towards the Beginning of the *Roman Republic*, when Dictators went from the Plough to head the Armies of the State, and afterwards returned to their own rural Obscurity again. These were Glories of one Kind, which looked lovely in that Age, and the Sum of the Honour they aspired after, was a disinterested public Spirit, in which they were not so much concerned to amass Wealth, as Fame.—Thus, in our own Land, the Genius and Taste of *England*, in the Reigns of *Edward III.* and *Henry V.* was so greatly heroic, that the Examples of those Ages would have little Influence in the Reigns of *James I.* or *Charles II.* If a Person happened to be born with an heroic Bravery of natural Temper, he would be like to lose much of that Gallantry of Temper and Genius, by being educated in such an unsynchronal Age, whose general Temper he could not but in Part imbibe; and the Softness of the prevailing Manners would almost enervate the natural Vigour of Genius with which he happened to be born.

(3.) WE may therefore suspect, that the Transactions of very distant Periods of Time, cannot be quite so beneficial for the Perusal and Imitation, or Monition of our modern Times, where such a great Diversity of Manners prevails.—So that even the great Work of *Plutarch's Lives of the Antients*, taken from different Ages and Countries, are severally useful, chiefly as they are the Lives of very great Men; each of them eminent for some particular Turn of Genius, whereby they form the Minds of the Readers to great Designs and Undertakings. He leads us to converse with a whole World of Heroes; every Character we meet with is in some Way or other Great; from one we imbibe one Excellency, and from others, another; and yet all of them contribute to dilate and expand the Genius, according to the different Turn of Temper and Cast of Manners.

It is true, indeed, these Biographers, who only treat of the great Characters in Life, are most properly useful to Persons in the like high Characters,

ractions, as Princes, Generals and Statesmen. Thus our great *Marlborough*, or *Argyle*, would naturally learn far more from the great Generals of Antiquity, than Readers in more obscure Stations would do. *Lord Burleigh*, *Lord Godolphin*, or *Lord Stanhope*, from the great Statesmen. The heroic Patriot House of *Nassau* would naturally learn more from the great Patriot Generals and Statesmen of *Greece* or *Rome*; and, by enlarging their own natural Genius for Policy or War, would have become probably greater, than even themselves would have been, without such Patterns. But, probably, they would have been still greater, had those heroic Patterns been nearer their own Times; where the Methods or War had a nearer Resemblance. As *Turenne* was the Disciple of the *Prince of Orange*, and *Marlborough* of *Turenne*. Thus again; our Admirals fire their Blood by the Patterns of *Themistocles*, *Cymon*, or *Timotheus* of old, and more still by the Patterns of naval Heroes, who formed themselves after these antient Patterns, nearer to our own Times. Hence arose the *Raleighs* and *Drakes* of *Queen Elizabeth's* Time; hence the *Blakes* and *Montagues* in the Times of our civil Wars; hence the *Van Trumps* and *De Ruiters*, when *Holland's* naval Power was greatest; hence our *Russels*, *Shovels*, *Berkleys*, *Bings*, and *Vernons*; and, I hope, I may predict a long Succession of *British* naval Heroes, who will follow Nature, and a national Taste and Manners of their Country, arising from its Situation; and form themselves to Bravery and Enterprize, after the great Examples of *Athens*, *Carthage* and *Rome*, and still improve in the Terrors of our modern War.

WE have indeed a much wider Field for naval War than the Antients had. They chiefly ranged the *Mediterranean*, or the Shores of the *Atlantic*; and tinged their Waters with their noble Blood. But now the remotest Oceans are the Scene of our Wars, not only to defend our Commerce from pyratrical Rapine, but also have been the Means of propagating the Blessings of Liberty and Truth, even to the distant Coasts of *America*, where Infant Colonies, like those of antient *Athens*, are rising in useful Power, as Children of their Mother Country, and growing in the true Principles of Industry and Liberty, sacred and civil. From all these Considerations I apprehend it unnecessary to enlarge further on the *Antient History*.

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A
CRITICAL and CHRONOLOGICAL
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, &c.

C H A P. I.

Of the Original of LETTERS.

INOW proceed to the Examination of a very material and capital Point of Antiquity, the Original of *Letters*, or *Alphabetical Writing*. This is not merely an Enquiry of Curiosity, in order to determine some such minute Debate as this, what *Country* may have the Honour of this Invention ascribed to it: But it is of the greatest Importance to settle the true Antiquity of *Pagan Learning*, and the Spuriousness, or Authenticity of their most ancient Histories. For, if we can determine the precise *Time* of the Invention of Letters, or of communicating the Art of Writing to Mankind, we can more correctly judge whether their pretended ancient Records are genuine, or they are not. Whether they could be wrote by contemporary Authors, who lived at the Time when the Events happened, or that the Writers must have had their Knowledge of the elder Facts which they relate, by *Tradition* alone.

S E C T. I.

On the Usefulness of LETTERS.

IF we consider the extensive *Uses* to which Letters are applied, even those of an universal Correspondence upon all Subjects, in all Ages and Countries where they are known; and besides, the Simplicity of the Elements out of which Writing is composed, making a few literary Signs or Notes, to express intelligibly the whole Compass of human Ideas for which we have any Words; and expose to Sight whatever may be said or thought; to consider all this, must raise in us the greatest Veneration and Gratitude to the Inventor of it. The many and great *Benefits* arising from this singular Art to every *Individual* acquainted with it, are astonishing. It readily ministers to all the Intercourses of Friendship, Business and Speculation; and serves to convey our whole Sentiments with Expedition, Clearness, Ease and Secrecy to any Distance required.*

This glorious Art gives distant Regions the Privilege of *Vicinity*, and distant Ages that of *Contemporariety*. By this Means we can in a Sense converse with the great *Father* of Mankind in Paradise; and with *Noah* in the Ark. This may be said to bring all the successive Generations of human Kind upon the Stage together; and to unite all their Discoveries and Improvements into one common Stock, for the Use of the present Age. So that whatever Sciences the Sagacity of *elder* Times hath invented, or improved, are hereby conveyed to *Us*; from which we are to advance, for the further enriching and Augmentation of the Treasury of Knowledge. All great Authors light their Lamp at the Fire which burns so strong in the great Ancients. To an *Homer* we owe a *Virgil* and a *Milton*; to a *DEMOSTHENES* we are in Part indebted for the new Wonders of Oratory in a *Tully*; and to an *Euclid* and *Archimedes* the World is in Part to ascribe it, that all its Expectations are exceeded by a *NEWTON*; and I doubt not but he may have a Successor greater than himself, setting forward from that Point in the Journey of Science where a *Newton* stood still. And tho' it must be allowed that Writing may transmit bad as well as good Books, the Dreams of *Epicurus*, as well as the sublime Sentiments of *Plato* or *Xenophon*; yet as a great Wit has observed, "That to a Bently 'tis we owe a *Boyle*," (however unaptly this may be applied to that Master of Criticism, the most Learned Dr. *Bently*) yet this Hint may illustrate our Remark, that *bad* Books frequently become very useful to the World, by occasioning excellent *Answers* to them, which might not have been undertaken, but for such *Objectors*. AGAIN; by this Art are all the eminent *Virtues* of ancient Times preserved in their Lustre and Freshness, for our *Pattern* and Imitation; and, tho' the Memory of ancient *Vices* may survive

* *Nicolf. de Lit. p. 2.*

survive in History, this may be for our *Warning* and Admonition. If the Memory of *Cæsar's* Ambition may inspire other Tyrants with similar Designs against their Country, and tho' the fatal Pattern may excite them to varnish the Parricide with many plausible Virtues, in order to deceive; yet we may hope that generous Patriots may be as potently inspired by the *Examples* of the *Brutus's* and the *Cato's*, as Tyrants by those of the *Tarquins* or *Cæsars*; and hereby the noble Heart may be warmed with the finest of all social Passions, *Love of Liberty, and of their Country*, from Age to Age.

And finally; this divine Art has been the Instrument of conveying from Age to Age, the uncorrupted *Oracles* of divine Truth, and affording us, who are not honoured with personal Revelations, daily Access to, and familiar Perusal of, the Holy Oracles. In which we are taught all that is necessary to be known concerning Things *past*, all that is necessary to be done for the *present*, and what is to be hoped or feared for *Futurity*; opening all the Scenes of past, present, and to come, as far as necessary. This sacred Volume, God, by proper Evidences and Credentials, stamped with his own Authority; and in this Way preserves it for a Rule for all Men, (without a Necessity of Repetition) in its authentic and genuine Purity, so that Writing is one great *Mean* of Correspondence betwixt *God* and *Man*.

S E C T. II.

Opinions concerning the Original of LETTERS.

A Matter of such transcendent Advantage to the World, may justly claim some Curiosity as to its *Original*; especially when the genuine Antiquity of History so much depends on the Knowledge of the Date of this Art.

Some have imagined Writing to be almost coeval with Mankind, and reckon it among the *first* Inventions of human Sagacity. The learned Mr. *Shuckford* is of Opinion, that it was early in the first World, and yet he acknowledgeth it surprising, that such an Invention should have been *found out* so near the Beginning of the World. "That Men should immediately fall on such a Project, to express Sounds by Letters, and expose to Sight all that may be said or thought in about twenty Characters variously placed, *says he*, exceeds the highest Notion we can have of the Capacities with which we are endued." But if it do so, why should we make so improbable a Supposition, unless we had better Evidence for it, than mere Conjecture? *Pliny* intimates, that Letters were *eternal*; but this can only mean that they were very *ancient*, because the Reason he gives for his Opinion is, that they are mentioned in Ages as old as *Phoroneus*, &c. *Ex quibus apparet æternum Literarum usum, Nat. Hist. Lib. 7. cap. 56.*

But, tho' some have ascribed this Invention to the *first* Men, yet others have given the Glory of it to *later*, particular Nations. Thus the same *Pliny* declares his Opinion, that Letters were of *Affyrian* Original, tho' he also mentions other Competitors for the Glory of the Invention, as the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*. [*Ibid. Plin. Nat. Hist.*]

However, the greatest Number of *Pagan* Authors agree in ascribing it not only to *one Nation*, but to *one Man* of that Nation or Country, even the *Egyptian Thoth*, or *Mercury*.

Sanchroniaton, tho' a *Phœnician* Historian, largely describes the Invention, and Propagation of this Art, by and from this *Egyptian Thoth*, and asserts, that he was the very *first* who wrote Records.—*Plato* clearly affirms, in his *Philebus*, “ that the first Invention of Letters was in *Egypt*, by this *Thoth*, “ but that it is doubtful whether he was a *God* or a *Man*,” which seems to intimate that *Plato* had some sort of Intelligence of some extraordinary Manner in which they were discovered.—*Diodorus Siculus*, [*Lib. 1.*] mentions the *Egyptian Mercury* as the Inventor of Letters, and of most other Arts. [*Cicero de Natura Deor. Lib. 3.*] And *Plutarch*. [*Symposiac. 9.*] assent to and confirm the same Opinion. But we cannot but observe that there was great Uncertainty in their Sentiments about this Matter. For *Diodorus Siculus* himself, [*in Lib. 5.*] asserts, “ That the *Syrians* were the Inventors of Letters, “ and that the *Phœnicians* learned them from that People.” *Eusebius* [*Præpar. Evang. Lib. 10.*] agrees with *Diodorus*; but takes those whom the *Sicilian* calls *Syrians*, to have been the *Hebrews*. From this Diversity of Opinions it is manifest, that the *Pagans* had no certain Knowledge of its Original among themselves. But yet their ascribing it so generally, to *one Person*, the *Egyptian Thoth*, may be the Remnant of a Tradition, that they first had Writing among them in the Days of *Osiris*, whose Secretary this *Thoth* was; and, when they first received the Knowledge of this Art, there might be frequent Mention of *Moses*, an *Egyptian*, as the first Writer among the *Hebrews*, from which Nation they knew it to be derived.

But how far soever these dark *Pagan* Hints may go, in Support of the Opinion, yet I apprehend this is the most probable one, that *Moses* was the *very first* Person who had the Knowledge and Use of *Letters*, or *Alphabetical Writing*; and that he derived it from the two Tables of Stone, miraculously engraven by the Finger of God.

A very learned Author thinks fit to treat this Opinion with some Contempt, in saying, that it *deserves no Confutation*. And I cannot but think it too hasty a Decision in a Gentleman of so much Candour and Learning. But he was so fully in the Persuasion of the Authenticity of the *Affyrian* Memoirs of *Ctesias*, and of the Astronomical Observations at *Babylon*, that there is less Wonder, that he should entertain this Notion with some Disregard, and even some Contempt.

S E C T. III.

Arguments for the Opinion that LETTERS were originally from Moses.

I N opening our Way towards clearing the Difficulties in this Question, I would propose two Things to be considered : (1.) That this is not a *new Opinion*; and, (2.) That it is not any *singular Fancy*, or Imagination of the *Ancients*.

1. It is no *new Opinion* ; and in Matters of ancient History, this is a Presumption in its Favour, that it is so *ancient*. Several ancient Authors expressly affirm it. *Eupolemus* is cited by *Eusebius*, to this Purpose.* “ That *Moses* “ was the first *wise Man*, or eminent Philosopher : That *he first* imparted the “ Knowledge of LETTERS to the *Jews*, from whom the *Phœnicians* had “ them, as the *Greeks* had them from them.”—Now *Eupolemus* was quoted by *Polybistor*, as appears in *Eusebius*. [*Præp. Evang.* p. 418.] And therefore he lived before *Sylla’s* Time, because *Polybistor* met with many Difficulties from that *Roman*. [*Vid. Voss. Histor. Græc.*] And *Isaac Vossius*, [*de 72 Interpret. p. 87.*] says, that he was a Contemporary with *Judas Maccabæus*, and that he was the Embassador sent to the *Romans*, mentioned, 1 *Mac.* viii. 17. *Judas* chose *Eupolemus*, Son of *John*, Son of *Accor*, and *Jason* the Son of *Eleazar*, and sent them to *Rome*, to make a League of Amity and Confederacy with them.—*Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes the same Author, in near the same Words. [*Stromat. Lib. 1.*] If our Author was this *Eupolemus*, the Embassador to the *Roman Republic*, we may probably conclude, that he was a Person of Rank and Abilities, and well acquainted with the several Traditions which prevailed among his Countrymen at that Time. And he might be excited to write an History of his Nation, for the Information of the *Romans*, and to recommend the *Jews* to the Friendship of that powerful, growing State.

Artapanus, another ancient Writer cited by *Eusebius*, [in *Præp. Evang.* p. 432.] in an History of the Affairs of the *Jews*, intimates, “ That *Moses* “ imparted Letters to the *Egyptians*, and that he was that *Mercury*, who, as “ all the *Egyptian* Traditions agree, first taught the Art of Writing to that “ People.” This Author, indeed, ascribes many other Things to *Moses*, as that he divided *Egypt* into 36 Nomes, &c. There are also some seeming Anachronisms in *Artapanus*, as that *Moses* was the *Musæus* of the *Greeks*, and the Master of *Orpheus*. And yet even this Hint may help to clear the Point as to the true Time of Letters coming into *Egypt*, and about what Age their

Thoth

* *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Par. Edit. p. 431.*

Thoth or *Hermes* really lived.—For *Musæus* was the Master of *Orpheus*, and (according to *Artapan*) he was the *Egyptian Hermes*. *Hermes* or *Thoth*, was the Secretary * of *Osiris*, as well as the Master of *Orpheus*; but *Orpheus* was an *Argonaut*, therefore *Osiris* and *Thoth* his Secretary, lived but one Age before the *Argonautic Expedition*, therefore the Original of Letters in *Egypt*, was in *Osiris*, that is, as we shall prove, in *Sesac's* Days. But these Writers transferred the Actions of *Sesac's* Days to the Age of *Moses*, partly for want of true Chronology; and because they had no Materials of *Egyptian Affairs*, with which they could regularly fill up that Interval, answerable to the *Hebrew Story*, betwixt *Moses* and *Sesac*.

I think that *Artapanus* flourished after *Berosus*; for it is probable, to me, that all the Orientals who wrote of *Chaldean*, or other *Eastern Affairs*, in *Greek*, wrote after the *Macedonian Empire* was erected. And it is plain, that when *Berosus* was a very old Man, he dedicated his History of *Eastern Affairs* to *Antiochus Theus*, the third after *Alexander the Great*, † so that he might be very well supposed to be the first Oriental Historian who wrote in *Greek*. But if *Artapanus* lived not long after *Berosus*, then it might be about 600 Years after *Shishak*, or after the Introduction of Letters into *Egypt*. Now an Author, who lived so near the Age of introducing Letters into that Country, and so having a Possibility of Records to consult for all that Time, might have much more correct Accounts, than later Writers could have. There might have been in *Artapanus's Time*, several old Memoirs concerning the Age of *Osiris* and *Thoth*, which might be lost long before *Eusebius* began his Scrutinies into Antiquity. In those ancient Books, there might be particular Notice taken of the first Introduction of Letters into *Egypt* by their *Hermes*, and that they had them from the *Hebrews*, whose first Writer was *Moses*. But when the Art was grown common, the Original of it would not be so much spoken of afterwards, as at first, when it was so great a Curiosity: As to the *Jewish Writers*, we have not many ancient ones among the *Rabbins*, and their Books are replenished with so many puerile and incredible Fables, that there can be no great Dependance on their Accuracy and Authority. However, some of their Doctors give us this strange History, or Tradition, concerning this Point: “That ten Things were created on the Evening of the “first Sabbath, viz. the Rainbow, the Hole in the Rock, the Pillar of the “Cloud and Fire, the two Tables, on which the Law was wrote, *Aaron's* “Rod, and LETTERS.” *Ainw. Pentateuch*.

The only Remark necessary on this *Rabbinical Account* is this: That, according to their Apprehension, Writing was an Art above human Sagacity to discover, and that it was of divine Original; tho' in their Opinion, it was imparted to the World long before the Days of *Moses*.

I would

* *Hermes* was the ἱερογγραμμάτης, sacred Scribe of *Osiris*. *Diodor. Sic. L. I. c. I.*

† *Tatian* [*Affyr. Orat. contra Græc.*] says that *Berosus* was born in *Alexander's Time*.

I would next proceed to the *Christian Fathers*; several of which have happened to speak partly on this Subject. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [in *Stromat. L. 1.*] takes notice that, as *Cadmus* first brought Letters to *Greece*, so he had them from the *Phœnicians*; who, as being the nearest Neighbours to the *Hebrews*, obtained them from thence. [Vid. *Cyril. Lib. 7. cont. Jul.*] *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact*, both hint their Opinion, that Letters were not very ancient. *Theophylact* on *Matthew*, observes, “ that those divine Men before the Law, were not instructed by Letters and Books,” which Opinion must be founded on his Persuasion, that they *had not* Books, not that they would have despised them, if they had had them.

Chrysostom expressly speaks (in his *Apology for the Monastic Life*) “ of those great and holy Men, who lived in the *earlier* Ages, when there were *no* Letters, as well as those of like Character, who lived *after* the Introduction of Letters;” which must imply, that several holy Men, whose History we know something of, lived before Letters, *viz.* the *Patriarchs* before *Moses*.

He also [in *Homil. 8. on Hebrews*] takes notice of “ God’s great *φιλανθρωπία*, Love or Mercy to the World, in inspiring *Moses*, writing the two Tables, and keeping him in the Mount 40 Days;” which intimates probably, that Writing was by Inspiration, and that in the 40 Days Stay in the Mount, *Moses* learned to make some Proficiency in the Art of Writing, for these were indeed Acts of divine *Philanthropy*.

Cyril of Alexandria, in his Reply to *Julian* the Emperor, insists much upon this Point, especially in his 7th Book against the *Apostate*, in which he directly refers to *Eupolemus*’s Testimony, that *Moses* was the first who instructed the *Hebrews* in the Art of Writing; from whom other Nations received it; and he cites *Clemens of Alexandria* as being in the same Opinion.

St. Augustin, in his celebrated Work *de Civitate Dei*, is pretty clear to the Point: “ There is no Nation, says he, which may boast of the Antiquity of its Knowledge, beyond our *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*, in whom there was a divine Wisdom.” He adds afterwards, — “ But the *Hebrew* Letters began from the Law given by *Moses*.” He cannot be supposed to mean only, or merely, the *Form* of the Characters; for that would be but a small Matter, but that the *Use* of Letters, or Alphabetical Writing, commenced from that memorable Transaction of giving the two Tables.

And *Ludovic. Vives* [on *Lib. 18. Cap. 39. of Augustin de Civit. Dei*] observeth, “ that it is the common Opinion both of *Jews* and *Christians*, that *Moses* first gave Letters to the *Hebrew* Language, or Nation.” This Commentator, therefore, as well as *Austin*, must have been of Opinion, that there had been *no* Knowledge of Letters among any of the *Jewish* or other *Patriarchs*, before *Moses*.

2. This Opinion of the *Mosaic* Origin of Letters, is not a *singular* Fancy, or Imagination of the *Ancients*. Many learned *Moderns* have espoused it; and

and there may be many more, which in the scanty Opportunities of a private Study, I may not have been able to consult.

Mariana, the learned *Romanist*, in his Preface to his *Genesis*, says, " that
" *Moses* was the first Inventor of Letters, or Notes of Discourse, which to
" our just Astonishment can be comprehended under twenty-two literal
" Characters, out of which, all Words, which are innumerable, are com-
" pounded."

The very learned and pious Dr. *John Owen* has an entire Dissertation on this Subject, [in *Theolog. Lib. 4. cap. 3.*] in which he not only espouseth this Opinion, but answers several Arguments brought for the contrary one; such as the pretended Pillars of the Posterity of *Seth*, erected before the Flood, mentioned by *Josephus*, and other Fables of the *Talmudical* Writers, about *Adam's* writing some Books on the *Creation*, and on *Repentance*. Also the Argument drawn from *Enoch's* Prophecy, mentioned by *St. Jude*, and from some ancient Accounts of *Paganism*, such as *Callisthenes's* Astronomical Tables. And he closeth all with this Remark: " I doubt not to assert, that no one
" has yet, by any Arguments or Testimonies worthy of Belief, shewed that
" there was any Use of Letters, properly so called, more ancient than the
" *Mosaic* Institution of Laws. Wherefore I wholly acquiesce in the Opinion
" of *Eupolemus*, that *Moses* first taught Letters to the *Jews*."

Mr. *Theoph. Gale* [in *Court of Gentiles*, Part I. B. I. c. 10.] adheres to this Opinion, and cites in that learned Work, many Authorities in Support of it.

I shall next refer to the eminently learned Sir *Charles Woolfeley*, Bart. He was a Person of Honour and Business, as well as Letters; bred in higher Life, and conversant in the Public World, among the Men of Wit as well as Letters, and so not like to be charged with falling into weak Fancies in behalf of *Moses*, of which *Rabbins* and *Divines* may perhaps be suspected. This great Author, in that fine Book, *Reasonabl. Scripture Belief*, expresseth his Sentiments on this Point, as followeth: " 'Tis a Thing greatly probable, that
" till *Moses's* Time, the World knew nothing of Letters; for we find not
" any Laws of God or Man, written before. He adds, 'Tis likewise most
" probable that we owe *them* not, nor their Use, to human Invention, but
" to *Divine Revelation*. 'Tis a Thing that offers itself fairly to our Belief, that
" God himself, when he gave the Ten Commandments, written by his
" own Finger, to *Moses*, introduced the first Alphabet." Pag. 212, 213.

Finally, I shall refer to the late Reverend Mr. *Johnson*, as a strenuous Advocate for this Opinion. He, in the Preface to a Sermon preached at *Canterbury* School-Feast, in 1727, has clearly asserted these two Propositions; that there was no *Alphabetical* Writing before *Moses*, and that *Moses* had the Knowledge of it by *Revelation*. And he has laid down many very good Arguments for the Proof of them.

I am sensible, that the great Authors, either ancient or modern, cited above, are not decisive Authority in the Point before us; yet they may dispose us

to impartial Enquiry, tho' Names as considerable should be produced against them. And, as we find the Opinion not destitute of Advocates among the learned *Moderns*, we may conclude, that no Improvements in Criticism, since the Revival of Learning, have discovered any thing definitive against this ancient Persuasion of *Eupolemus*, *Artapanus*, and their Followers.

S E C T. IV.

No Writing before the Flood.

HAVING now stated what has been alledged, in Way of *Opinion*, on both Sides of this Question, that Writing, *was* the Invention of the *Mosaic* Age, and that it *was not*; I proceed to the Arguments, by which I shall attempt to prove that Letters, or Alphabetical Writing, were the Discovery of that Age.—I must here chiefly make use of the Books of *Moses*, because I have no other of any clear Antiquity to argue from, in the same Manner.

1. Supposing then that the Books of *Moses* are, tho' a very short, yet a good History of the Times and Countries to which he refers, I advance this Proposition, That there is no Probability that the Use of Letters obtained in the *Antediluvian* World. This may be gathered from the Probability of Things.

The chief Use of Writing must have been for the following Purposes, either, (1.) For Public Records to transmit the Account of memorable past Transactions, Laws, and Speculations, to Posterity; or, (2.) For private Memoirs to assist our own Memory in preserving any Matters of Importance, or Curiosity, we would more perfectly retain ourselves; or, (3.) For conveying our Thoughts to Persons at a Distance, with more Secrecy, Clearness, and Expedition.

(1.) It is obvious, that the first of these Ends of Writing, *viz.* recording eminent Events, for the Information of Posterity, must have been *unnecessary* in that extraordinary *Longevity* of Mankind. The first Spectator could impart the Account of any memorable Event from his own Mouth, for 900 Years, and could repeat the Narration, many times over, to his Descendents and Acquaintance, thro' all those Centuries, of his own Knowledge. New Auditors of the Original Story would rise up almost every Year, in the Family of the first Relater. So that *Adam's* youngest Son, supposing him to be born in the six or seven hundredth Year of *Adam's* Life, might, in the second Hand, be able to convey the original Story of the State of Innocency and the Fall, as he had it from *Adam* himself, who was the Spectator, or first Witness, for 15 or 1600 Years. Further, this Tradition of these Patriarchs, *viva voce*, must have been more satisfactory, than any written Records; particularly on this Account, that every time the Relation was repeated, the

Hearer might make every necessary Enquiry, for Illustration, and answering any Doubts he might have, concerning the ancient Facts thus related. Whereas written Histories, if, thro' Obscurity of Expression, or Conciseness of Relation, they leave any Doubts, must remain for ever in some Measure encumbered with those first Difficulties, unless we have Access to some original Commentator, for Explication. We can therefore scarce imagine that *Adam* would set himself to invent or practise an Art, for which he could have so little Occasion; or that any of his Posterity would travel to the Place where the monumental Column was erected, or the Historic Plates or Tables were deposited, when they could as easily repair to *Adam* himself, or *Seth*, or some other of *Adam's* Sons, who had so frequently heard the Relation in all its Circumstances from the first Witness.

(2.) But again; it must have been very difficult, if not impossible, to meet with any *Materials* for Records that could be equal in *Duration*, to that of one Man's own Testimony, when Men spent in adult Age above 800 Years; and the Testimony in the second Hand could be carried down above 1600. Whatever Materials the Art of Man should have found out, suppose Pillars of Marble, Tables of Brass, or the most compact Wood or Stone, yet if kept in common Air, as Columns must be, or within the Reach of Insects and Vermin, they must waste, moulder, rust, and decay. How obscure must the broken Record be, how much defaced all the shattered Inscriptions, even before the Death of the first Witness! But no body chuses to write Records on a Mud Wall. (3.) I may add to this, that according to *Gen. iv. 22.* the Invention of Brass and Iron-work was not much sooner, than perhaps the eighth or tenth Century of the World, and therefore there could be no Conveniency of Tools and Instruments of Engraving before that Age, and therefore no Writing on any *durable* Materials, which could be of any Service for *their* Records.

2. As to the second Use of Letters, private Memoirs in Aid to their own Memory; tho' some Advantage might arise from this, yet it appears not to have been worth while in their Circumstances. If a Man must hew down an Oak,* and smooth and square it, to inscribe his Memorandums upon; if he must dig the Marble Quarry, or forge and prepare the Metal, for his private Table-book, for preserving any particular Curiosities, or Philosophical Speculations of his own; all this Apparatus would seem too operose for Men who had their Hands full of other necessary Things, and their Tools so scarce to work with.—As to the third Use of Letters, the conveying out Sentiments to others at a Distance with Clearness and Secrecy, it would not be easy to find proper *portable* Materials for composing their unweildy Epistles. Plates of Metal, Pieces of engraven Stone, or burnt Clay, would be very incommo-
dious for Books of Speculation or Epistles for secret Communication to be

* I think this Inconveniency of Materials would make it absolutely impossible to have either private or public Records for many Centuries.

sent to any great Distance. In case it should be said that they might have found out less durable Things for writing upon, for their own private Use, or for Epistles, such as Plaster, or Barks of Trees, or Skins, yet in this Case the original Memorandum must be often copied, or otherwise the private Memoirs of their Youth must have been obliterated Hundreds of Years before their Death. And as to the writing of *Epistles*, there is no Hint of that kind of Correspondence in the ancient World. — And, finally, as *Moses* doth record the first Husbandman and Shepherd, the first Inventor of Tents for Cattle, of Music and Metal-work, one would think, considering the great Account it has always been of since it was known, he would have mentioned the Inventor of *Writing*, had it then been found out. — These Considerations make it highly *probable*, that as there was so little Necessity to put them upon this Invention, so they were really Strangers to it in the first World.

C H A P. II.

Of the Antiquity of Writing in the Postdiluvian World.

INOW pass on to consider the Antiquity of Letters in the New World. And here I advance this Proposition, That there is no Probability that there was any Use of *Letters* (properly so called) or *Alphabetical Writing*, before the Days of *Moses*.

In Proof of this Proposition, I offer the following Arguments.

I. *Writing* is never mentioned on any Occasion whatsoever, in the Books of *Moses*, before the giving of the Law.

II. The Mention of it is scarce ever omitted, on any proper Occasion, after the giving of the Law, in the Writings of the *same* Author.

III. We have no Account of any Person in any Age or Country, who has invented Alphabetical Writing since, without learning it, or having been taught it, *viz.* We have no such Account within known Time.

S E C T. I.

Letters not known from the Flood to Abram's leaving Chaldaea.

1. **A**S to this first Argument, *Moses* writes a compendious general History of the *Antediluvian* World, for the Space of 1656 Years, containing the most important Transactions of that long Period; such as the Crea-

tion; the first Law to Mankind in a State of Innocency; the Fall of Man; the Intimations of his Recovery; the Institution or Restoration of Worship; and yet never mentions or hints at any original Records of those great Events, drawn up either by God or Man; tho' these were most of them *Revelations*, not to be found out by their own Reason. Again; in the long Space of 1656 Years, Mankind must have performed many memorable Things, *invented* many useful and noble Arts, and *improved* many fine Sciences; yet we have no Intimation of any ancient Books, recording either the Revelations of God, or the memorable Actions of Men; Books either of Divine Laws, or of History, or Speculation, of Philosophy or Wit, which were brought with *Noah* into the Ark. And yet doubtless, a Person of such eminent Distinction both for Virtue and Knowledge, would have preserved the whole Stock of *Antediluvian* Improvements, that he thought worthy of Preservation, and which his Circumstances would permit. And, as it must have been so easy to preserve their Books or Plates, if they had had *any*, we must conclude they had *none*, since there is not the least Intimation of any such Thing.

2. There were many *Revelations* made to *Noah*, both before and after the Flood; several new Laws were published, as those relating to Murder, with an express Penalty annexed to that Crime. [Vid. *Gen.* ix. 5, 6.] There were several *new Grants* of Privileges, as that of the Use of animal Food, and the renewed Grant of Dominion over the inferior Creatures; and the Covenant with Mankind, that there should be no more an universal Deluge. These were all imparted and communicated in an extraordinary Manner, even by Revelation. And yet there is no Mention of any *Command* to record these memorable Transactions in Writing, or any Account of their being *so* recorded. How different was the Proceeding of Providence, *at* and *after* the giving of the Law? The two Tables were miraculously *wrote*; and, after they were delivered to *Moses*, he was *commanded* to write down, as in a Public Record, all the *other* Laws and Statutes, (*Exod.* xxxiv. 27.) for the Perusal of Posterity.

When *Moses* comes to an End of his General History of Mankind, from the Flood to the Dispersion, he proceeds to a more particular History of the *Hebrew* Nation. And, as he contracts his Narration, more especially to the Affairs of one Family, we may naturally expect that his History should become more circumstantial, and descend more minutely to Particulars. And yet, in this more particular History of the *Abrahamic* Family, we meet not with the least Intimation of any Practice of Writing among them, or any of the neighbouring Nations with whom they had any Intercourse.

Abram and his Posterity, on Account of that unsettled Situation in which Providence placed them, travelled to so many different Countries, that we have collaterally an Account of the Customs of most of the ancient, neighbour Nations, intermixed with the *Hebrew* Story. And, from the Course of this *Hebrew* History, it will appear highly probable, (1.) That there was

no Knowledge of Letters in *Chaldæa*, when *Abram* came away from that Country. (2.) That there was no Knowledge of that Art in *Canaan*, when he came thither, nor till *Sarah's* Death. (3.) That there was no such Knowledge in *Syria* or *Canaan*, at the Time of *Isaac's* Marriage. (4.) Not in *Phœnicia* (or *Canaan*) at the Time of *Isaac's* Covenant with the King of *Gerar*. (5.) There was no Knowledge of Letters in *Canaan* or *Syria*, when *Jacob* went to, or came away from *Laban*. (6.) *Jacob's* Family knew nothing of this Art, when *Joseph* was sold. (7.) It was unknown in *Egypt*, during *Joseph's* Government of that Kingdom. (8.) It was unknown to the most learned Nation of the *Egyptians*, and to *Jethro's* People in *Arabia*, when *Moses* was educated in the first, and when he so long resided with the latter.

I. The Account given by *Moses* of *Abram's* Life, contains a pretty copious Detail of the principal Circumstances of his whole Pilgrimage, from his leaving *Chaldæa* to his Death; and yet, in none of the Incidents and Events of his Migration, do any remote Hints occur of any Writing, or Use of Letters. *Abram's* own Condition in the World was very singular. He was removed far from his native Country, separated from almost every one from whom he could expect the Endearments of Nature and Blood, and from all the tender Intimacies and Friendships of his Youth. He made two different Removes, one from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, his native Country; and then from *Haran* to *Canaan*; and there is no Intimation of his having been invited to either Place. Now it would seem most rational in any prudent Person, to have wrote down all these Transactions, with the Reasons of them, for the Vindication of his own Conduct. Many disadvantageous Surmises might be suggested against his Behaviour, and many perverse Constructions might be put on such a singular Proceeding. Adversaries might alledge, that he had been a Disturber of the State, or had done some very ill Things, which had occasioned his Expulsion from his native Country. For it would be natural to think that he had some Ground in private Property, as well as moveable Substance. His second Remove from *Haran* might augment and multiply these unfriendly Suspicions, and load his Memory with many unkind Reflections. The Land to which he withdrew, afforded him but a precarious Settlement, and he continued a Pilgrim, among Strangers all his Days.

Now, if he did not think of committing these Things to Writing, till before the Birth of *Ismael*, or perhaps *Isaac*, yet one would think, when he saw a Probability of Posterity to succeed him in those instable Fortunes, especially after he knew that *Isaac* should be Heir of all the Promises; one would think (I say) that so prudent a Person would have explained the whole Reason of such extraordinary and mysterious Conduct, in authentic and punctual Memoirs.—He would have recorded the first heavenly Monition which put him upon leaving his native Country, and then that which authorized his next Remove from *Haran* to *Canaan*. Such as the Blessing pronounced upon him,

to justify his so soon leaving his new Settlement, and the Promise of his Posterity's finally inheriting the Land of their Pilgrimage.—He was, in the Course of Nature, like to leave *Isaac* comparatively young, a Sojourner in a strange Land, where other Families would multiply as fast as his, and by Degrees might straiten them in their Country.—*Abram* could not be sure that God would sustain their Hopes, under new Difficulties by new Revelations; and how firm soever his own Faith was in the Promises made to himself, he must think that all apt Means must be used on his Part, to keep alive his Posterity's Faith in Promises given to himself. And this must have been by recording them in the most authentic Manner in his Power. There was so much extraordinary, and out of the Methods of common Prudence in his Conduct, that nothing but extraordinary Authority could justify *Abram's* bringing his Family into such Circumstances, or reconcile them to continue therein. And therefore the divine Reasons of the whole Proceeding required to be distinctly and explicitly set down, and recorded in the most unexceptionable Manner. But we do not find any Hint of such Memoirs in the whole Story; and may therefore conclude that there was no Knowledge of Writing then in *Chaldæa*.

Here it is proper to consider that *Abraham* was a Person of great Note; for he had a great Household, much Substance, and many Servants, and therefore must have had a good Education; he was a Person of great Virtue and Piety, which would inspire a Love of Knowledge, and excite him to make Improvements of the Advantages of Education. So that had there been any Knowledge of Letters, he would have been acquainted with them, and have retained them. But as he was educated under *Terah*, who was brought up with *Serug*, and even with *Noah*, who was brought up under *Methuselah*, the Son of *Enoch*, who had long conversed with *Seth* and *Adam*, we may reasonably conclude that, if *Abraham* did not know Letters, there was no Writing in the World before that Time.

SECT. II.

No Writing in Canaan at Sarah's Death.

THERE was no Writing in *Canaan* at the Time of *Sarah's* Death, when *Abraham* purchased his Burying-place from *Ephron the Hittite*, Gen. xxiii. In this Story, there are many fine Pieces of ancient Manners and Customs interpersed in the Narration. The Children of *Heth* had their Possessions near the City in private Property; the Use of Money was introduced among them, which passed by Weight. But, by the Manner of the whole Relation, it appeareth, that no Writing was in Use, nor any Conveyance by any Sort of Deed or written Record, to confirm the Transfer of the Property then, or to refer to afterwards.—This Transaction is copiously related.

lated. *Abraham* proposeth the Matter in the *Audience* of the principal Inhabitants, that they would *intercede* with *Ephron* to grant him the Field, upon a full Valuation : The generous Offer of the Field and Cave in Way of Gift, is made by *Ephron*, in the *Presence* of his Fellow-citizens, *Abraham's* respectful Refusal of the Gift, and Proposal for a *Purchase*, is before the same Witnesses; the *Price* fixed by *Ephron*, is complied with by *Abraham*, and paid before the same Witnesses, and the Conveyance is made by, or before the same. The whole Transaction is attended with the greatest Decency and Simplicity of primitive Manners, and all the Marks of Generosity and Respect. So that they would not have refused any necessary Securities that were known among them, for the clearing *Abraham's* Title. And yet the sacred Historian says, that it was made sure by the Sons of *Heth*, no doubt, as a Publick Act, according to the Customs of the Age. It was not conveyed by *Ephron* the Proprietor, by Signing and Executing a *Deed*, but the Sons of *Heth*, or the principal Men, as Witnesses of the Consent of Parties, which doubtless was the usual Way in such Cases. They certainly could be no more than Witnesses, for the Land was *Ephron's* own Property, all that *Abraham* requested of them was to *intercede* with *Ephron* to consent to the Alienation, not to constrain him by their Authority; and *Ephron* soon evidenced to them all, that he needed no Importunity to consent; and yet the Conveyance was made sure by the Sons of *Heth*, which could be no otherwise, than by their being Witnesses of *Ephron's* Consent, and perhaps seeing *Abraham* put in Possession.—I may add, that, had there been the Use of Writing among them, there would always have been Materials prepared, for all Emergencies, as we now have Paper, Stamps, &c. So that there could have been no Obstruction to the formal Conveyance, by the Shortness of the Time. From all these Circumstances I conclude, that Writing was not known in *Canaan* at that Time, any more than in *Chaldea*, when *Abraham* came away. For, if they had had the Use of Letters, they would have given *ABRAHAM* the Common Security, tho' he could not have read it; as we now have Deeds made for many People who cannot read them themselves.

S E C T. III.

No Writing at the Time of Isaac's Marriage.

ISAAC's Marriage is another remarkable Case, which especially required the Use of Writing, had the Art been known, and any proper Materials for it. The Family of *Bethuel* lived at such a Distance from the Place of *Abraham's* Abode, that they could but have an imperfect Knowledge of his Affairs; so that *Bethuel's* Prudence would naturally inspire a Concern to be informed about them. *Abraham* left *Haran* in the 75th Year of his Age.

Isaac

Isaac was born 25 Years after, and he was 40 when he was married, so that there could be little Intelligence of him and his Condition, 65 Years after he left *Haran*, and when he resided at so great a Distance all that Time. Again; *Abraham's Civility* would lead one to expect such an Information from him. Tho' there was a great Simplicity, yet there appears to have been the greatest Decorum in the Manners of that Age; so that it cannot be conceived that *Abraham* himself should neglect *Writing* to his Relations, on so important an Occasion. One would imagine, that he should have given them particularly his own religious Reasons for preferring that Alliance to any among his Neighbours. And tho' he might have committed it to his faithful Servant, to negotiate the Affair, and to answer all such common Questions as their Curiosity might induce them to ask; as well as to inform himself of any Particulars which he might be curious to know; yet *Abraham* could have been under no Necessity of trusting the whole Affair to him, had *Writing* been then known in his Family. He needed not to have tied him by an Oath to deliver his Letters, since the other Servants who accompanied him, must have seen it as well as he. And, indeed, there are several other Particulars in this Narrative, which are equivalent to a Demonstration that *Abraham's* Servant had no Letters to deliver. When he first met *Rebekah* at the Well, upon Enquiry who she was, he prepared, or perhaps had ready the Golden Ear-Ring and Bracelets, which probably he then presented to her. After his coming into the House, *Gen. xxiv. 23.* there was set Meat before him; but he said, *I will not eat until I have told mine Errand.* Now this was the natural Time for delivering his Letters, if he had any. Had *Bethuel's* Family known any thing of this Method of Correspondence, they would have expected that the Letters should have been first produced. But they enquired for none, the Servant produced none, nor did he make any Excuse for it, or assign any Reason why he had none. When he declined eating till he had told his Errand, *Laban* said unto him, *Speak on;* which shews that he had no Errand to deliver any other way than by Word of Mouth. For they might have read the Letters deliberately, while he refreshed himself, had there been any. But the whole Conclusion was made upon the verbal Relation of *Abraham's* Servant. Then *Laban* and *Bethuel* answered, *the Thing proceedeth from the Lord, we cannot SPEAK UNTO THEE* Bad or Good. They received a verbal Account of *Abraham's* Desire, and they returned a verbal Answer, *Gen. xxiv. 50.* — If any Difficulty may seem to arise from the cumbersome Nature of their Materials for Writing, yet the Design was concerted so long before, and the Servant took so many Camels with him, that even Plates of Brass might easily have been conveyed, to certify them of the Reasons of desiring their Alliance, and to be preserved, as a Memorial thereof among themselves. — From all these Particulars, it is greatly probable that there was no Knowledge of Letters either in *Abraham's* or *Bethuel's* House, at the Time of *Isaac's* Marriage.

S E C T. IV.

No Writing either in Phœnicia or Canaan, at Isaac's League with Gerar.

THERE was no Knowledge of Letters in *Phœnicia* or *Canaan*, at the Time of *Isaac's* League with the King of *Gerar*. *Isaac* seems to have been a less public Person than *Abraham*, and seldom to have travelled out of *Canaan*, but upon Necessity; as when a Famine constrained him to repair to *Gerar*. But this only Correspondence which he seems to have had with any other Nation but the *Canaanites*, affords Matter pertinent to our Purpose on this Subject.—After his residing some Time in the Territories of *Gerar*, his remarkable Prosperity raised some Envy against him among the Natives, and they became vexatious to him, by many little Injuries, such as stopping up the Wells which *Abraham* had digged, and the like; which however were in the Commons or uninclosed Grounds.—*Abimelech* seems to have been a good-natured, generous, and virtuous Prince. He heard of these Insults among his own People, and speaketh to *Isaac* in friendly and respectful Terms, to *withdraw* from among them, for that his growing Power and Wealth occasioned some Jealousies of him. *Thou art mightier than we*, Gen. xxvi. 14, 16. The *Hebrew Patriarch*, according to the King's Request, drew nearer the Borders of *Canaan*, and continued in very flourishing Circumstances; and tho' frequent Struggles were renewed among the Herdsmen, yet the Animosity went no further, till *Isaac* removed again into *Canaan*, v. 23.—After some time, *Abimelech*, accompanied with his General and chief Counsellor, made him a Visit in *Beersheba*, and proposed a League, an Oath, or Covenant betwixt them. This was a public Transaction, or national League, in which they gave mutual *Securities*, that they would abstain from all Injuries to each other, solemnly *ratified* by their mutual Oaths, v. 31. Here are several ceremonial Circumstances taken Notice of by *Moses*, as v. 30. *Isaac made them a Feast, and they did eat and drink, and in the Morning they sware to one another*. Now such a public Transaction between two Nations, would scarce have been accomplished, in any Age or Country where Writing was known, without Exchanges of Articles in *Writing*; for these would best preserve an explicit Account of their mutual Engagements, and the Nature of their Alliance; and the Confederacy must soon become obscure, when they had no permanent Memorial of the Matter of it.—But there is no Intimation in the whole Narrative, of any Duplicates of written Articles, any Tables, Plates, or even Skins, exchanged; it was only a *verbal* Contract, tho' as solemn as Oaths could make it. From all which we may conclude, that there was no Knowledge of Letters either in *Phœnicia* or *Canaan*, at that Time.

S E C T. V.

No Letters in Canaan or Syria, when Jacob went to Laban.

THERE was no Knowledge of *Letters* in *Canaan* or in *Syria*, when *Jacob* went to, or when he came away from *Laban*. The Fathers of the *Hebrew* Nation in their unsettled State of Sojourning, travelled to so many different Countries, that their History brings us acquainted, in an incidental Way, with the Manners and Customs of most of the ancient Nations all around *Canaan*, in regular *Succession* of Time.—To proceed then, to the Days of the Patriarch *Jacob*. He was sent by his Parents to *Padan-aram*, to take a Wife out of *Laban's* Family, *Gen. xxviii.* But *Jacob* went in very different Circumstances from what *Isaac* had appeared in, on the like Occasion. There was a Grandeur in *Abraham's* Message, tho' agreeable to the Manners and Simplicity of the Age. But *Jacob* (probably thro' the Emulation betwixt the two Brothers, and his being the younger) went in an obscure Manner.—But one would think that *Isaac* and *Rebekah* would have, at least, *wrote affectionately* along with him, and expressed their own ardent Desire of this Affinity. They could do no less than recommend *this Son* as the *Heir of the Family Blessing*, to a kind Reception among their Relations. This is what all Parents do, who know any thing of *Writing*, to recommend their Son as advantageously as possible, when going on a Design of Marriage into the Family; and to so great a Distance, that they could not expect any Opportunity of conferring about the Match. Had there been any Knowledge of *Letters*, or of *portable* Materials for Writing, then found out in *Canaan*, *Isaac* would certainly have *wrote* tenderly with his Son, on such an Occasion. And this is the only Case we have considered, in which there would be any Necessity of regarding the Portableness of Materials. But there is not the least Hint of any *Letter* which he had to deliver; and the Way of relating the Story, implies the contrary. For *Gen. xxix. 12.* *Jacob* told *Rachel* *who he was*, and when he came to converse with *Laban*, *he told Laban all these Things* by Word of Mouth, concerning his Family and Affairs, which he could not with such Propriety be said to have done, if *Isaac* had given an Account of it by *Letter*. But then descending with *Jacob* into *Syria*, we shall, I think, see Reason to believe, that there was no Knowledge of Letters in that Country at that Time. *Jacob* appears to have been a Person of Ingenuity and Application, an enterprizing Man, and of sufficient Ambition. It can, therefore, scarce be supposed that he would have neglected so surprising, and yet so easy an Art, as that of Reading and Writing, if it was known there.—He lived long in *Syria*, at least twenty Years, *Gen. xxxi. 38.* During which Time, his Curiosity would have urged him to im-
prove

prove himself in any of their valuable Arts, unknown to him before.— Nothing could be more amusing to People in the Pastoral Life, than Books, either of Piety or Speculation, of History or Poetry. Had there been any such Advantages, he would certainly have often relieved the tedious Hours, by such masculine Amusements, and recommended them to his Sons. And had it been so, it could not have been past over in such profound Silence in so particular a *Biography*. We find accordingly, that when *Laban* and *Jacob* came to take Leave of each other, *Gen. xxxi. 44. they made a Covenant, and set up a Memorial of it.* In this Transaction were several Ceremonies observed, which we may suppose agreeable to the Customs of that Age. They raised an *Heap* of Stones on the Place, to be a *Witness* or Memorial of their Contract with each other. But the Contract was only *verbal*, as far as can be gathered from *Moses's* Relation of it.—This Pillar and Heap of Stones was at a great Distance from either of them, and therefore could not be often visited, as a Memorial of their Covenant, if there had been an Infraction made on either Side. *Duplicates* of Articles mutually exchanged, must more effectually have answered their End, of ascertaining the Terms of their Agreement, and preserving the Memorial of them. And, if there might have been both the *Written* Covenant, and this *Witnessing* Pillar and Heap, yet they would scarce have chosen the less convenient Method of commemorating their Covenant, and neglected the more convenient one. And further, if this was the *customary* Way of *ratifying*, or preserving the *Memorial* of their Contracts, it could have become a *Custom*, only because they had no better Way of recording them. They would not have made use of uninscribed Heaps, if they had the Knowledge of Historic Inscriptions. Now from all these Particulars I argue, that there was no Use of Writing in *Mesopotamia*, when *Jacob* came from thence. If it be said that setting up such memorial Heaps continued after the Use of *Letters*, as *Josh. iv. 9.* we may observe that, as this Custom had prevailed before they knew *Letters*, it might on extraordinary Occasions, be made use of, afterwards, as a venerable ancient Practice, tho' no longer necessary.—Again, if it was set up in the Midst of *Jordan*, there would be no need of Inscriptions, since Men could not come near to read it. And lastly, it might put Children upon Enquiry into the Meaning of it in After-ages, and then they had a written History, out of which to draw the necessary Informations for their inquisitive Youth.

S E C T. VI.

No Letters in Jacob's House when Joseph was Sold.

JACOB's Family knew nothing of *Writing* when *Joseph* was sold to the *Ishmaelites*; or however, there were no *portable* Materials then known for this Use. Had such an Art been then understood, *Joseph's* Brethren must have been apprehensive of their own Danger from it. For he might possibly, by some happy Accident or other, have found some Conveyance of a Letter to his Father; in which he might copiously explain the Secret of their unnatural Usage, in his own Hand-writing, which his mourning Parent could know to be *Joseph's*.—Now they, who were capable of such savage Brutality, as to think of destroying him, in the Wantonness of Envy, would have been more stimulated to perpetrate the enormous Homicide, if they had been apprised that there was any more Danger of *their* being discovered, by *his* being spared. But it doth not appear to have been either *Tenderness* to him, or *Caution* as to themselves, and their being detected; but perhaps chiefly their *Avarice*, which occasioned his being sold instead of being murdered. As he was sold for a *Slave*, they might not fear his Return in Person. But a Slave might have wrote a Letter, had Writing been known; as is frequently done by Captives now, from Countries far more distant than *Canaan* and *Egypt*. One cannot therefore think, that they would have trusted to that of his never having an Opportunity, (which was the only Thing they could confide in) for having the Secret kept. For if *Joseph* could write, and *Jacob* read, he might, by some fortunate Incident or other, have procured the Conveyance of a Letter to *Jacob's* own Hand, whatever Vigilance the Sons might use to prevent it.—And perhaps nothing but such a Letter could satisfy *Jacob*, for his Sons might persuade him to disbelieve any unknown Messenger.—From all these Circumstances, we may infer that there was no Knowledge of Letters in *Jacob's* Family, when *Joseph* was sold. And here it may be noted, that *Joseph* was a favourite Son; and therefore would (doubtless) have all the Advantages of Education that *Jacob* could give him. He was himself a young Person of singular Acuteness of Genius, and of uncommon Virtue, so that he would not have failed to get, or keep, all the Improvements, for which he had an Opportunity; and therefore we may reasonably conclude that, if Letters were then taught, he would have learned them. But if *Joseph* did not know Letters, then *Jacob* himself did not. And as he was educated under *Abraham*, who was brought up under *Terah*, who was brought up under *Serug* and *Noah*, whose Education was with *Methuselah*, who might have long Intimacy with *Adam*; therefore there was no Knowledge of Letters in the World before *Joseph's* Time, in that Line of Succession from *Noah* to *Joseph*.

S E C T. VII.

No Letters in Egypt at the Time of Joseph's Preferment.

THERE was no Knowledge of Alphabetical Writing in EGYPT at the Time of Joseph's Preferment. The *Mosaic History* having been silent, as to the Affairs of Egypt, from *Abram's* going thither, in the first memorable Famine, to this Period of Joseph's Settlement there; many Improvements in Arts might have been made; and particularly *Writing*, might have been invented *there* during this Period; tho' it had not yet arrived at *Canaan*, or *Gerar*, or *Padan-aram*, in which Places the *Hebrew Patriarchs* had been most conversant.—But I now proceed to consider the State of Learning in Egypt, as to this Point of Writing.

This Kingdom appears, from the *Mosaic History*, to have been a considerable State, pretty early. *Pharaoh* had his *Princes* in *Abram's* Time, *Gen. xii. 15.* and the Officers of the Palace in Joseph's Time seem to have been considerably multiplied. There was the chief *Butler* and chief *Baker*, *Gen. xl. 2.* which however were, I think, but servile Offices at that Time. There was also a Captain of his Guards, or rather the chief *Marshal* or Executioner; and there was the King's *Prison*, the Keeper of which seems to have been an Officer of Distinction. The Court was grown to considerable *Luxury*, for there were various Meats prepared by the Arts of Cookery for *Pharaoh's* Table; and he was served by Cupbearers, or Butlers, with his Wine. There was also some Magnificence and Splendor of *Equipage* and *Dress*, for Joseph, upon his Preferment, was to ride in the second *Chariot*, to be cloathed in Vestures of *fine Linen*, and have a *gold Chain* about his Neck, *Gen. xli. 42, 43.*—The King appears to have been an *arbitrary* Monarch, who had both the Lives and Fortunes of the People very much in his Power. For it seemeth to have been the King's own arbitrary Act to execute the *Baker*, and restore the *Butler*; and also to impose what Tax he pleased on all the People, as in ordering a fifth Part of the Produce of the Ground to be gathered into Royal Granaries. And this appears further by that strong Expression, *Gen. xli. 44. I am Pharaoh, and without thee, shall no Man LIFT up his HAND or FOOT in all the Land of Egypt.*—In this incidental Way we have a pretty large Account of the then prevailing Manners and Customs of the *Egyptians*. And the whole Narrative is *thus far* very natural and probable. It is very natural to suppose that Joseph, when invested with such high Authority, should be distinguished by some outward Marks of Greatness and Honour. And we find, lest any Wound should be given to his Authority, by his retaining the Name of the Slave, the King gave his new and powerful Minister a new Name, expressive either of great Capacity, as a *Revealer of Secrets*,

or of great Trust and Dignity ; which manifests, that the King gave him all Kind of Testimonials of his Royal Favour that were in his Power. And finally, to complete all, he married him into one of the noble Families of *Egypt*, to strengthen his Authority by the Grandeur of this Alliance.—Now this is very natural and probable, and may be thought to be a sufficiently complete History, on Supposition that there was then *no* Knowledge or Use of *Writing* in the *Egyptian* Court ; but 'tis greatly defective, if there was. For here was an Office erected of a *new* Nature, which was to be executed thro' the *remotest* Corners of the Monarchy. In order to the Discharge of this Office with due Authority, there must have been a Necessity of an authentic *Commission*, unexceptionably setting forth the Matter of it. The *Letters* conveying such extensive and unusual Powers, should have been as *Patent* and *express* as possible. But instead of any such regular, *written* Commission, we have an Account (*Gen. xli. 41.*) of *Pharaoh's* VERBAL Appointment of *Joseph* to this Work. See, *I have set thee OVER all the Land of Egypt. Thou shalt be over MY HOUSE, and according to THY WORD shall all MY PEOPLE be ruled.*—This is all the Commission that appeareth. Now here it would be natural to expect that the King should have added, “ I have accordingly “ ordered my Secretaries to draw up an ample Commission, to be signed with “ my own Hand, sealed with my Royal Signet, and attested by my principal Nobles.” But, instead of any Intimation of this Kind, we have a Sort of ceremonial Investiture related in many Particulars, *Verses 42, 43.* *Pharaoh took off his Ring from his Hand, and put it upon Joseph's Hand ; arrayed him in Vestures of fine Linen ; put a gold Chain about his Neck ; made him ride in the second Chariot ; and they cried before him, BOW THE KNEE.*

The Commission was certainly more important to him who was to act by Virtue of it, in the most distant Parts of the Kingdom, since these Ceremonies could only have been known at Court. And we cannot, I think, have any Reason to imagine, that the Silence on this Head was owing to Forgetfulness in the Historian. *Moses's* Silence, who is so accurate a Writer, and when he descends to such minute Particulars, as the Ring, the Garments, the Chariot, Chain and Proclamation, will amount to a Proof of our Point, that *Letters* were (probably) at that Time *unknown* in *Egypt*.

But it may be alledged, in Way of Objection to our Argument, that there is no Mention of any written Commission when *Daniel* was promoted, tho' Writing was certainly then in Use, *Dan. ii. 48.* To this I reply, (1.) That we have only a very short History of his Promotion, without Mention of any Ceremonies of Investiture. But in *Joseph's* Case, the whole Ceremonial is related, and yet the Commission is omitted. Those Particulars which, in the Nature of Things, must have been of the *least* Importance, are related circumstantially ; and the *most* important are not mentioned at all. (2.) It is probable that *Daniel's* Business was chiefly in the Palace, to receive the Accounts of the more itinerant Officers from the remote Provinces ; whereas

Joseph's

Joseph's was in all Parts of the Kingdom, where nothing but a written Commission along with him could be so satisfactory. However, (3.) I am here only considering the Writings of the *same* Historian, *Moses*, and that he, who so often mentions Writing after giving the Law, never doth it before the Law: So that this Objection is not so directly to the Purpose.

S E C T. VIII.

No Use of Letters in Egypt at the new Settlement of the Lands.

THERE was no Knowledge of *Writing* in *Egypt* at the new Settlement of the Lands, after the Famine was over. This Event happened under the Ministry of *Joseph*, and so was not much later than the other. But one would think, that though Writing should have been omitted to be named as to *Joseph's* Commission, yet sure it could *not*, without the greatest Impropriety, have been passed over in Silence, when the Tenure of all the Lands in *Egypt* was *new settled*; and yet there is no Hint of it in the whole Narration. The vigilant Governor so faithfully executed his Commission, that the Royal Granaries were copiously stored. Now this laborious Work could not be carried on privately, nor have we any Ground to imagine, that the Reason of the King's proceeding, was at all concealed. Wherever *Joseph* came for seven Years together, every Man had Warning of the approaching Calamity; and so might have treasured up, after the Royal Example, what he could spare out of his own plentiful Crops. And doubtless, there might be *some* such private Repositories. But it is probable, the greatest Part of the People were Unbelievers, as to the prophetic Intimation of the Famine. They might even despise this unusual Sort of Care, as the Whim of this obscure Stranger; who took the Advantage of the King's odd Dreams, to work himself into such an honourable Confidence with *Pharaoh*. A Person must have given it some such Turn as this, or he must have been very indiscreet, not to make some parallel Provision for himself. But in Fact, we find the Body of the People had not properly improved those Seasons of Plenty; for their own Stock was soon expended, and even the *Egyptians* themselves were speedily reduced to the Necessity of becoming Purchasers from the King's Granaries.—As long as their Money lasted, we hear of no Complaints; and I apprehend they could not, with any Decency, complain, who had had such fair Premonitions of the coming Distress, and might perhaps, rather have sported with, than honoured the Governor's unwearied Care, during the Years of Plenty. But when their Money was spent, and the Famine continued, they proceeded to the *Exchange* of their Cattle; and at last to the *Sale* of their *Lands* to the King, upon such Conditions as were agreed upon betwixt the Governor and the People. It seems indeed

indeed wonderful, that in a Season of such general Calamity, there should be no *Mutinies* or Insurrections, and yet we meet with no Mention of any in all this critical Ministry. As the Distresses of this wasting Famine continued, the People, instead of fretting at *Joseph's* Care of the Royal Wealth, gratefully acknowledged his Paternal Goodness, *Gen. xlvii. 25. They said, thou hast saved our Lives, we will be Pharaoh's Servants.* They were pleased both with the Care in providing it, and the equal Manner of the Distribution. How amiably equitable must the Conduct of this great Man have been! and how disinterested in the whole, who could please all Parties, in such a Scene of exquisite Distress, and bring them all in general, to so cool, so unresenting a Compliance with this Alienation of their respective Possessions, according to stipulated Proportions!

But now, as all the *Tenures* of the Lands in *Egypt* underwent so great a Change, it is natural to expect that there should be numerous *Conveyances* and Surrenders. Most of the Lands, which were held in some Sort of Property before, were now *transferred* to the Crown, on certain Conditions; which Transaction demonstrates that they had some Property in them before; for if they *could sell*, they had something of their own to dispose of. On this extraordinary Revolution, one would expect to hear of great Employment for *Secretaries*, or Engravers, to draw Deeds, when so many new Titles were to be settled. So vigilant a Governor would scarce have neglected either the King or the People, so far as to have left the *People of Egypt* without proper, authentic Evidence of their Property *in*, and Title to their Estates, which remained to them; nor to have left the *King* without due Evidence of his Claim to the Royal Proportion in so great a Change. Yet we hear of no *written* Instrument public or private, not so much as one general *Record*, or *Magna Charta* of *Egypt*, which might be the general Evidence, that a fifth Part was reserved to the Crown, when he put the old Proprietors in Possession of their *old* Premises, with this *new* annual Rent-Charge.

Though it is not my direct Business in this Argument, to animadvert on this History, or the Character of the Minister, yet as it falls in my Way, I may just remark, that there doth not appear any Signs of a Spirit of Oppression or Tyranny, in this extensive Bargain with the Land-holders of *Egypt*. For (1.) It is plain, that *Pharaoh* could, by his own own arbitrary Prerogative, take a fifth Part of their Produce for his own Use; for otherwise there would have been some Complaints. Or, (2.) The Corn might have been purchased cheap, in that Season of great Plenty; and the People in general were willing to sell, which gave the Governor the easy Opportunity of filling his Magazines. Tho' I think the former was more probably the Case.— Now, if it was so, *Joseph*, at the End of the *Famine*, (which could not be said to be of his *procuring*) did not leave the People in worse Circumstances than he found them. For he fixed them in the Possession of their *own* Lands, only loaded with the Incumbrance of an annual Rent-Charge of a fifth Part.

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If they had a bad Civil Constitution, when he came into Trust, this could not be his Fault; and when the Calamities of the Famine were over, this pious and potent Governor retained such Influence, as to restore to the People their Liberties and Estates, only reserving to the King, who was the Proprietor of all the Corn, as a *stated Tax* or Tribute of Vassalage, *double Tenths*, as Mr. *Stackhouse* calls it, out of the Produce of those restored Lands. And there was probably this further public Spirit in that Action, that *Joseph* made this Tax a *permanent* Thing, in Lieu of all *arbitrary* Taxations.

S E C T. IX.

No Writing when the Hebrews settled in Goshen.

IT seems probable, that there was no Use of *Letters* in *Egypt*, or *Syria*, or *Canaan*, when the *Hebrew* Colony was settled in *Goshen*. This would plainly require some Sort of Title, and the *Hebrews* would desire as good a one as that Age afforded; and *Joseph* would procure them as valid a Confirmation of the Royal Grant, as was customary there. Tho' *Joseph* was not an interested, or avaricious Man; yet he was a very sagacious and prudent one; and therefore would have taken Care to have secured the Grant to his Father's House, by all Sorts of customary Evidence; that they might not be liable to an arbitrary Expulsion, according to the various Humours of his Successors in Power. Now we find that he procured them *Possessions* in *Goshen*, *Gen.* xlvii. 11, 27. Verses. And they never, under all their Oppressions, were removed afterwards; for they resided in *Goshen* to the last, *Exod.* viii. 22. —ix. 26.

And yet, here is the like Silence, as to *any written* Grant, or *Charter*, in this Settlement of the *Israelites* in *Goshen*, as in the New Settlement of the *Egyptians* own Lands, in the other Parts of the Kingdom. It is still amazing that, on no proper Occasion whatsoever, in settling Properties, as to *Natives* or *Foreigners*, confirming either *Sales* or *Grants*, there should be no Mention of the *only* convenient, or however *the most* convenient, Method of ascertaining Titles, even that of *Writings*.

Joseph lived many Years after, in great Dignity and Authority. He was 30 Years old, when he first came into Power, and therefore must have been 44 when the Famine ended. He lived 66 Years after that, for he died when he was 110 Years old; and seems to have maintained his Credit and Significancy to the last.

After the Death of *Joseph*, we have but a very short Account either of the *Egyptian* or *Hebrew* Nation, or indeed, of any *People* under Heaven, in the *Mosaic* Writings; so that few Incidents occur to aid us in tracing the Knowledge of Writing. Here is so great a Chasm in this Period of History, that we

cannot gather, by any Circumstances here related, whether the Art of Writing was found out in this obscure, and unactive Period, or not.

The *Hebrews* continued in *Goshen* till *Joseph's* Death, probably with the full Approbation of the *Natives*; tho' I apprehend this happened in a new Reign.—But the World was now filling fast with Inhabitants, and it is probable, that so great a Company as the *Hebrews* must be grown to, at the Time of *Joseph's* Death, could not well remove to any Part of *Canaan*, where they could find Room to settle in, except by Conquest; and therefore must willingly stay on the Crown Lands in *Goshen*, where *Joseph* had settled them, and which they had by Grant from the Crown. It was not because they were so obstinately fond of *Egypt*, as the *moral Philosopher* feigns, but because they could not quietly remove, and might not be strong enough for Conquest. *Joseph*, on his Death-bed, puts them in Mind that *Canaan* was the Country intended by Providence for their ultimate Settlement; and gives Order concerning his own Remains being conveyed thither; but doth not intimate that they could have any Thoughts of removing at that Time, *Gen. l. 24, 25*. Now we have no Hint of any Writing, of this Order or Request, tho' it was to be executed by their Posterity, who were then unborn, and with whom it would have been proper to have left such a Memorial of his dying Request, which none who heard him must live to perform; therefore no Writing then in *Egypt*.

S E C T. X.

No Letters in Egypt when the Oppressions began.

THERE was no Knowledge of Letters when the Oppressions began.

All that is said of them for some Time is, that their Numbers remarkably increased, till at last the *Egyptians* began to look on them with an Eye of Jealousy. A new King arose that knew not *Joseph*. This plain Piece of History has occasioned great Debates among the Learned, whether this was a native King, or a foreign Conqueror; whereas there is no Foundation to determine either Way from these Words. So that we cannot conclude, as to our main Point, whether this Art of Writing, which was not known in *Egypt*, during *Joseph's* Government, was, or was not imported by this new King.—But one Circumstance even here is to our Purpose. This King knew not *Joseph*, *Exod. i. 7, 8*. So that, whether he was a native King, or a conquering Foreigner, it is plain that there was no regular History of the Affairs of that Monarchy at that Time. If there had been any Sort of written Annals, or particular Records of singular and memorable Events, it would have been impossible that so very extraordinary Occurrences should not have been recorded. And, if they had been recorded, it would have been impossible that the

the King should be unacquainted with them, so as to justify this strong Expression, *A NEW King arose, who KNEW NOT Joseph.**—Wherefore I conclude, that no *History* was begun to be written at that Time, in *Egypt*.

But tho' this *Pharaoh* was a *Native*, Hereditary Prince, yet this Relation might be true, *that he knew NOT Joseph*, on Supposition that they had no *written History* among them; considering the Distance from the Famine to the Beginning of the Oppression in this new Reign.

The King who was on the Throne when *Jacob* came into *Egypt*, was a much younger Person than *Jacob*, for *Jacob* blessed *Pharaoh*;† and this was an ancient Piece of Respect paid by the younger to aged Persons, to reverence their Blessing, whatever Difference there was in their Rank and Condition. But he might be elder than *Joseph*, and die before him. The Prince Royal, who was brought up at Court, might be very well acquainted with the Merit of so able a Counsellor, who had so long and prosperously conducted the public Affairs in this Prince's Minority. But when he came to the Throne, he being surrounded with younger Courtiers, and *Joseph* perhaps being retired from Business, his Memory might insensibly lessen, and in a third or fourth Succession, he might not be much spoken of, and there would be none alive, who could relate any of the wonderful Transactions of this extraordinary Ministry, of their own Knowledge. It is therefore very probable that they might know little of *Joseph* in this new Reign. What should we now know of our King *James I.* or *Charles I.* Reigns, without Books and written Records?

S E C T. XI.

No Letters in Egypt when the Sanguinary Edicts were published.

I ADD, finally, that there was no Use of *Writing* in *Egypt*, when the several Sanguinary Edicts against the *Hebrews* were published. I own it is not easy to determine the Distance of Time from their Settling in *Goshen*, to the Commencement of their Oppressions. But this is plain, that these Jealousies did not commence till they were become considerable, and even formidable for their Numbers, *Exod. i. 7.* Accordingly, this new King, a vigilant and suspicious Prince, alarms his own People in these Words, *Exod. i. 9. The People are more and mightier than we.* We need not take this as literally true, but only as an exaggerating Representation of their very considerable Strength and Numbers. But it would have had no Pertinency in it, had they not been augmented to a great Multitude. We see that, when

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* Note, some may, perhaps, be for interpreting the Expression thus, [*He knew*, i. e. he approved, *not of Joseph* ;] he had not that Affection and Regard for him and his worthy Acts that the *Pharaoh*, who advanced him, had ; and therefore he would not treat the Kindred of *Joseph* so kindly. If that Interpretation should be allowed, our Argument here would lose its Force.

† *Gen. xlvii. 7, 9.*

any War happens betwixt near equal Powers, a smaller Power revolting, or joining the other, may turn the Scale. And all that *Pharaoh* feared, was their *escaping*, not their attaining *Dominion*, *Exod. i. 10.*

It was upon these Jealousies of their Numbers, that the Plans of Oppression were formed. And when increasing the Severities of their Servitude did not lessen their Increase in *Numbers*, the King proceeded to those Sanguinary Edicts, for destroying the Male Children in the Birth. But in the whole Narrative there is no Intimation of a *written* Edict, it was all enjoined by *verbal* Orders from *Pharaoh*, *Exod. i. 15, 16.* And the King of *Egypt* spake to the Hebrew *Midwives*, and he said unto them, *When you do the Office of a Midwife to the Hebrew Women, if it be a Son, then you shall kill him.* But the *Midwives* feared God, and did not as the King commanded them. When their Disobedience was made known to *Pharaoh*. Here was again only a *verbal* Remonstrance with them, on their Non-execution of his *verbal* Orders, before given them.

When the cruel Injunctions to the *Midwives* were not complied with, then *Pharaoh* charged all his own People, saying, *every Son that is born, you shall cast into the River.* But here again, is a like Silence as to any *written* Order or Command. And, methinks, it is very surprizing, that the King should take the Trouble of so many *verbal* Orders, and so many *Messages*, first to the *Midwives*, and then to his own People, if he had any Knowledge of *Letters*, for those would have been a much more compendious, and more expeditious, and more diffusive Publication of this inhuman Decree.

So that now upon a Review of the *Mosaic* History, from the *Creation* down to this memorable Period, the *Beginning* of the *Hebrew* Oppressions in *Egypt*, it will, I think, appear probable in the highest Degree, that there was no Knowledge of *Writing* in any Country, to which the *Mosaic* History extends. And suppose now that these *Egyptian* Cruelties might begin about *Moses's* Birth, then it will be brought down to within about eighty Years of the Egression, for *Moses* was eighty Years old when he led the Armies of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

We are now arrived at that Point of Time, which I think may be justly called the Birth-day and the Origin of *Letters*. For we have not only a clear Account of the certain Use of *Writing* in *Moses's* Time, but also of one certain Original of it, the miraculous *Writing* the Two Tables of the Law.

S E C T. XII.

Objection as to the Silence of Historians, considered.

Object. **B**UT there is one Objection which may be made to this Argument, which I must more fully discuss, *viz.* That the Silence of Historians doth not amount to a *Proof* that there were *no such* Arts or Customs in the Ages and Countries of which they wrote, merely because those Historians *never mention* them.

Ans. 1. I own that in any *single* Narration of any *one* Event, there might be many Particulars omitted which really did happen. We cannot determine what an Author should have set down, or what he should have omitted, nor what *he* might think the most *important* Circumstances belonging to his Story.

2. But if *one* and the same Author writeth on a great *Variety* of Subjects, each of which give him very natural and proper Occasions for mentioning any particular Custom or Art, and yet he always omitteth it, for a *certain Period* in his History; but if *after* that Period, the *same* Writer scarce ever *omitteth* mentioning the same Custom, on any proper Occasion, is it not plain that this Author thought it a Matter of Importance? How can we account for this Conduct in the same Author, on any other Foot but this, that the Custom was *not known* in that Age and Country whose Transactions he writeth of, where he doth *not* mention it; but that it *was known* in the *following* Period, in the Transactions of which, he so frequently *doth* mention it?

3. If *several* Historians write Volumes on *one* Subject; as for Instance, upon the ancient Wars, and in all their Accounts of *Asiatic*, *African*, or *European* Wars for 3 or 4000 Years, there be an entire *Silence* about Fire-Arms or great Ordnance; so that in none of their Stratagems in the Field, for annoying or defending Camps, there be the least Hint of Cannonading; or in their Sieges, of Bombardments, or Mining, or Battering; would not this *Silence* be admitted as a full Proof, that there was at those Times, no Use of Fire-Arms in War?—Again; if an Author writes the History of *European* Wars in the 17th or 18th Centuries of the *Christian Æra*, and relates the Heroic Atchievements of the *Patriot* House of *Nassau*, or *Gustavus Adolphus*; or the Bravery of *Turenne*, or *Cromwell*; or the later Triumphs of the Great *Duke of Marlborough*, and the Prince of *Savoy*, and our other *modern* Heroes; and *every where* mentions Cannonading, Bombardments, and Small-Arms by Land, and all the like terrible Apparatus in *Naval* Wars: But *never* mentions darting the Javelin, Flights of Arrows, or any thing of Archery.—Would not this *Silence* amount to a Proof that these Arms were wholly disused in these modern Wars?—Now to apply this Instance, for

for the Illustration of the Case in Hand, concerning *Letters*, since so many natural *Occasions* occur in the *Mosaic* History, for the Mention of *Writing*, on all which *Occasions* it is most proper to be made Use of, and generally is made use of, where *Letters* are known; and yet is not once mentioned on any one of them; Doth not this Silence of *Moses* amount to a strong Presumption, that *Letters* were then wholly *unknown*, as in the Case of Fire-Arms in ancient Wars?

So again; if in all our Literary Histories, after Alphabetical Writing was known, there is frequent Mention of Inscriptions, on Plates and Columns of Brass and Marble, and of Manuscripts on Paper, Parchment, and other Materials, and yet no Mention of PRINTING once occurs, before the 15th Century; and yet Printing is scarce ever omitted to be mentioned afterwards, when Literature is spoke of; would not this profound Silence for 5000 Years together, and this frequent Mention of it after the 15th Century, amount to a Proof, that the Art of Printing was unknown before that Age; even though we had no other Information of the Time of its Invention but this, that we never hear of it before, and frequently hear of it after that Age?—So I say, in parallel Reasoning, since *Moses* never mentions *Writing*, on any Occasion whatsoever, in an History of 2500 Years, before the Law; and yet mentions it about twenty Times, in the History of forty Years, after the Law, this singular Conduct in so accurate an Historian, cannot well be accounted for on any other Supposition but this, that *Writing* was discovered about the Time of giving the Law.

C H A P. III.

Letters discovered to Moses by Revelation.

I NOW proceed to a further Proposition, viz. That the *Art of Writing* was imparted, or discovered to Mankind, by Divine Revelation. This I shall attempt to prove by the Arguments following. 1. It is agreeable to the very Letter of the *Mosaic* History. The two Tables were prepared, and had the Laws inscribed upon them, and were delivered into the Hand of *Moses*, perfectly finished and complete, *Exod. xxxi. 18.* And he gave unto *Moses*, when he had made an End of communing with him on Mount Sinai, two Tables of Testimony, Tables of Stone, WRITTEN WITH THE FINGER OF GOD. And this was according to a Promise made to *Moses* before, *Exod. xxiv. 12.* And the Lord said unto *Moses*, come up to Me into the Mount, and BE THERE; and I will give thee Tables of Stone, and a Law, and Commandments, WHICH I HAVE WRITTEN. So that *Moses* had no Hand in writing them. No doubt, *Moses* could have been miraculously taught to write them, as well as to read them. But the Matter of Fact is related otherwise, and I

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can perceive no Reason why we should reject this plain Account, when there are no Circumstances in it that put any Violence on our Faith.

2. When the first Tables were broke, tho' *Moses* was directed to prepare two other Tables like the First, the Similitude of which he might easily remember; yet they were again *miraculously inscribed*, *Exod. xxxiv. 1.* and *Deut. x. 4.* And I humbly think it is not probable that this Inscription would have been *miraculously repeated*, if *Moses* could have performed it himself, if he had learned the Art of *Writing* before, either in the *Egyptian* Court, where he was educated in all their Learning, or among the *Arabians* with *Jethro*.

3. We never find, in the Course either of common or extraordinary Providence, that God *interposes* to perform any Thing for us, which in the Use of our own Powers, we *can do* ourselves. In the whole settled Course of Nature, or common Providence, what we *can do*, we are *to do*, and what we *cannot*, God *doth* for us, by what Instruments he thinks fit. The Sun is endued with a prolific Heat; the Earth hath its convenient Surface, of such a mouldy, unadhering Composition, as to be apt to receive the Grain into its fruitful Bosom; Water has these Qualities that make it capable of Rarefaction, so as to become specifically lighter than Air, and so to float till the proper Time of its Condensation into Showers or Dews; which, tho' a Succession of Wonders, is no *Miracle*. All this necessary Apparatus is out of our Power; this therefore, God in his Providence prepareth for us. But then we *can*, by the Powers he hath bestowed on us, till and plow the Ground, and clean and prepare, and sow the Seed; and when we have done this, the Laws of Vegetation perform the rest. It springs up and enlarges without our Help, according to the Vegetable Laws. But Weeds spring up and grow along with it, which would depauperate or choak the Corn; these we *can*, and therefore we *must* pluck up. Here again we stand still, and it grows, fills and ripens without our Aid: But as soon as they *can*, our Powers come in again, in reaping and gathering in, and in all the subsequent Offices necessary, till it comes in Bread to our Tables.—Nature and Providence are *analogous* in their Operations, for they are but the Divine Operations in different Views. And accordingly, we never have any Miracles wrought for us, but when they are *necessary*, or the *best* that can be done in given Circumstances. Thus when *Writing* was taught in this Primitive Pattern of it, in the two Tables; when the *Alphabet* was fixed, and the Art of compounding those literal Marks into Words was made known, we hear of no more miraculous or *Divine* Writing. *Moses* himself, after this, wrote every other Law and Statute, as he was commanded to do.

4. Another Consideration that may induce us to believe that *Writing* was supernaturally imparted to the World, is this, that the State of the World was such as to stand more in need of this Help, than any Time before. For all the Original Traditions were become very obscure by Length of Time, and the

the gradual Shortening of Human Life. There was a Necessity of their being repeated, or however of their being recorded more authentically, and in some more permanent Way; (as I have proved at large before.) And as Mankind had not found out the Art of *Writing*, it is congruous to our most venerable Notions of the supreme Deity, to think that he might graciously afford our Race such a seasonable supernatural Assistance in this Extremity.

5. There was a *Divine Law* to be given, to guide Men with greater Stability in their Knowledge of *One God*, and their Duty to him, and to preserve them from Idolatry. Now the most effectual Way to preclude the Necessity of its being repeated, or revealed over again in every Age, was to have it *written*. But if that Art was not then found, it appeareth altogether worthy of God to reveal that Art by which such a punctual Law might be best preserved, and promulged for the Knowledge of Individuals; and also the History of all the Miracles, by which the Divine Legation of the Publisher of these Laws was unanswerably proved at the Time of Publication.

CHAP. IV.

Letters, though never mentioned before the Law, are rarely omitted, on any proper Occasion, after the Law, in the Books of Moses.

MY second Argument to prove that *Writing* was unknown before the giving of the Law, is this: That tho' it is never once mentioned before that Time, yet it is scarce ever omitted, on any natural Occasion, after the giving of the Law, in all the Books of *Moses*. In the Examination of this Point, I have met with two Difficulties, tho' they are both of them near the Period I fix for the Original of *Letters*.

SECT. I.

On the first Objection, arising from Exod. xvii. 14.

THE first Difficulty occurs, *Exod. xvii. 14. And the Lord said to Moses, WRITE this for a Memorial in a Book, and REHEARSE IT in the Ears of Joshua, for I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek from under Heaven.* Now it is plain, that this Order must have been given before he received the Tables, if it was given to *Moses* immediately after the Action; for this Action at *Rephidim* was before their Arrival at the Mount of God, *Exod. xvii. 8.*

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(1.) To this I reply, That it is not probable that *Moses* could write any *Letters*, properly so called, at that Time, before he had received the Tables, for the Reasons given above; he could not *then* obey this Order, if it was then given, and therefore it is not probable that it was *then* given. (2.) Nothing is more common than Dislocations in small Instances, not only in the best human Writings, but also in the sacred Volumes themselves. And yet they do not confound the Order of Time, or the Series of Events. This Action at *Rephidim* was before their Coming to *Sinai*. But the Command for recording it, is set down, when the History of the Action itself is related in its Order of Time. Now there is no great Inaccuracy in History, in setting down *together*, all the principal Circumstances belonging to any one Matter or Event; tho' there may be some Distance of Time betwixt those *Circumstances* happening. For this Method may prevent returning to the Story again, after it has been once related so fully in its proper Place.—Agreeable to this good Rule of History, tho' *Moses* might receive this *Command*, to record in Writing this first Military Transaction, not at the very Time of the Battle, but some Time after the Event, *i. e.* when he was instructed in the Art of *Writing*; yet that very Command might be here set down *proleptically*, to render the whole Narrative concerning the *Amalekites* more complete. (3.) It is said that *Moses* was to write down this Story, and rehearse it to *Joshuah*; for this Reason, *that God would utterly blot out the Name of Amalek from under Heaven*. Now it could hardly be needful to command the Rehearsal of this Story to *Joshuah*, at *that Time*, who himself commanded in the Battle, for he must have had a very perfect Knowledge of it *then*. But this Rehearsal would be very proper, perhaps near forty Years after the Action, and when *Joshuah* was nominated *General*; especially to put him in Mind of one particular Service he was to take Care of, even the total Abolition of the *Amalekites*.—That People were devoted to Destruction, as a Punishment for their malicious Attack upon *Israel*, when they shewed not by their Marches, any Intention of disturbing the *Amalekites*. It might be in order to discourage any such officious Attempts against God's People, from the Nations which they did not annoy.—But I think there may be a further Reason for this Decree for the Excision of the *Amalekites*. They had, no doubt, heard of the wonderful Appearances of Providence in behalf of the *Hebrew* Nation; and they, either out of an *Atheistical*, or *Idolatrous Defiance* of the Almighty; either *disbelieving* a Providence, or *trusting* in their own *Idol Gods*, attacked the People in the Fatigue of the March, or in a Sense of their Want of Water in that Place; hoping that, in these Circumstances, they might overthrow and baffle their Confidence in *Jehovah*. This profane Impiety seems to be intimated, *v. 16. Because the Hand of Amalek is against the Throne, or Banner of the Lord*, *i. e.* impiously lifted up in *Defiance* of his Power and Sovereignty. Thus the best *Hebrew Critics* explain this difficult Passage. (4.) It may be supposed, if this Command was given to *Moses* immediately

immediately after the Battle, that it was a *prophetic* Intimation of a *new Art*, which God would, in due Time, instruct him in; and that then he should record this, among many other Particulars, when he had attained to that Skill of *Writing*. So that this would not amount to a Proof of his knowing *Letters* at that Time, tho' the Command for Writing were immediately subsequent to the Victory. But I more incline to the former Account, that this Command was given, after *Josuah* was appointed *General*.

Object. 2. The second and *principal* Difficulty, that has occurred to me, ariseth from *Exod. xxiv. 3, 4, 7* and *12th Verses*, where the Account of *Moses's Writing* and *Reading* the Book, is expressly set down, *before* his having received the Tables, even the *first Time*. *V. 3.* *Moses came and told the People all the Words of the Lord, and all the Judgments.* *V. 4.* *And Moses wrote ALL the Words of the Lord.* *V. 7.* *And he took the Book of the Covenant, and read in the Audience of the People.* And yet after all this, it is said, *v. 12.* *The Lord said to Moses, come up to Me into the Mount, and be there, and I WILL give thee Tables of Stone, and a Law which I HAVE WRITTEN.*

For the Solution of this Difficulty, I shall, *first*, consider distinctly *all the Times* of *Moses's Going up* into the Mount. And, *secondly*, attempt an Account of this, which I take to be an Anticipation, in the Beginning of *Exod. xxiv.*

S E C T. II.

The second Objection from Exod. xxiv. 3, 4, 7. fully considered.

1. **T**HE first Time of his Going up is mentioned, *Exod. xix. 3.* *And Moses went up to God, and the Lord called to him out of the Mountain.* The People had removed from *Rephidim*, and camped before the Mount. From this Station *Moses* was first called up. It was to receive the general Proposals from God to the People, for their being taken (in a peculiar Sense) into *Covenant* with the Most High God; God, in this first Conference, referreth to the miraculous *Deliverances* he had vouchsafed to them, as an Argument to induce them to a Veneration for his Proposals, and sums up in general Terms the singular *Advantages*, which should redound to them from this special Union to God: And, finally, subjoineth the *fixed Conditions* of enjoying those national Favours, even universal Obedience to whatever he should afterwards command, *Verses 4, 5, 6.*—*Moses*, on his coming down, conveneth the Elders of the Nation, *v. 7.* and reports to them what he had in Charge from the Lord; and they declare their united Consent to these general Overtures.

2. *Moses's* second Going up, was after this Answer to the divine Proposals received from them, to make as it were a Report of it in *Form*, *Exod. xix. 8, 9.* But

But doubtless, this second Going up was by divine Order and Direction. It was at this Time when *Moses* went up to return the Words of the People to the Lord, that *Jehovah* further opened his Councils to his chosen Minister, in v. 9. *Lo, I come unto thee in a thick Cloud, that the People may bear, when I speak unto thee, and believe thee for ever.* At the same Time, or in the same Interview, God commands *Moses* to go down and sanctify the People, to prepare them for a special Interview on the third Day, v. 10. All this Order relateth to the pronouncing the Ten Commandments, which were the only Laws delivered in the Audience of the People. All the Circumstances of this whole Transaction were the most awful and tremendous; such as were fitted to strike them with the most profound and lasting Reverence, both for the Lawgiver and the Law. *Moses*, having received these Directions, goes down, and sanctifieth the People. He ordereth them to devote themselves to religious Meditations, to raise Devotion in their own Hearts, as well as to take Care of all necessary outward Purifications; that so they might be in the most respectful and religious Temper possible; and so wait till they should be summoned to a nearer Approach by the proper Signal, the long Sound of the Trumpet, v. 13.—On the Morning of the third Day the awful Signals begun. The Energy of the Divine Majesty produced such tremendous Appearances, in the Darkness of the Cloud, the terrible Lightnings flashing from it, and blazing round the Summit of the Mount; the Thunders dreadful Cracks, and the Shaking and Convulsions of the whole Mountain, as put the Camp into unspeakable Consternation. Then the heavenly Heralds summon the Tribes, by a Voice like that of a Trumpet, but loud and terrible above all human Expression. This having been intimated before, to be the Signal, *Moses* leads out the trembling Nation to the appointed Limits of the Mount, to wait for the Publication of the Law.

3. *Moses's* third Going up was at this Time, by divine Command, (as every Time of Going up was, I think, by express divine Command,) v. 20. *And the Lord called Moses to the Top of the Mount, and Moses went up.* For some Time the awful Apparatus continued like the Herald's Voice to awake the greatest Attention. But *Moses's* Stay at this Time was very short; for God, foreseeing that the daring Curiosity of some would tempt them to pry beyond the Bounds prescribed, hastens *Moses* down, v. 21. to prevent the Danger of such Presumption, and to renew the strictest Orders for observing the appointed Distance, v. 24. Yet here is an express Promise that he and *Aaron* should, at a proper Time, be admitted nearer the Presence.—After all this astonishing Preface, there ensued a sudden awful Silence, and, after this majestic Pause, God, by angelic Voice, pronounced the Ten Commandments, the great Abstract of the whole Law. Upon the Ending of this Promulgation of the Law, in an audible Manner, all the preceding and miraculous Convulsions of Nature were renewed, and the affrighted Tribes, with the utmost Precipitation and Astonishment, retreated towards the Camp.—But it

is very plain that, during the Promulgation of the Decalogue, and at the Time of their Retreat to the Camp, *Moses* was *not* in the Cloud of Glory; for he was so near the People, that they could either *call* or *send* to him, *Exod. xx. 19. They said unto him, speak thou with us, and we will bear.* And he encourageth them with seasonable Explications of all these tremendous Appearances, and that they were not for Destruction, but for binding them to an eternal Steadiness of Obedience, which they were now to pause and think on, *v. 20.* And here it seemeth plain to me, that the Correspondence for that Day ended. And so it is explained, *Deut. v. 22. These Words he spake to all your Assembly out of the Cloud, &c. AND HE ADDED NO MORE.*

But now, as I apprehend, the History set down, *Exod. xx. 21. Moses drew near unto the thick Darkness where God was.* And that, *Exod. xxiv. 13, 15, 18 Verses.* And also that, *Deut. v. 31.* do each of them refer to *one* and the same precise Action, or *Going up of Moses.* For (1.) Tho' it be related in so close Connection with the People's desiring that *Moses should go up alone, Exod. xx. 21.* yet it certainly must have required *more Time* for the Execution of this Desire, than is here intimated. *Moses*, and the People too, must certainly *wait* till they knew the Issue of this Proposal, or Request of *Moses's Going up ALONE.* *Moses* himself *dared not* have presumed to go up, without Permission or Direction. (2.) We have an Account, *Deut. v. 23, 24, 25,* and 27th Verses, of the Elders meeting together and coming to *Moses*, and of a long Conference betwixt them, and of their desiring that all further Laws might come to them thro' his Hands. Now all this Transaction was *after* their retreating, or *going afar off*, and *before Moses* could go up, and must require some Time. And (3.) It appears farther, from *v. 28.* that what we before conjectured, was true, that *Moses dared not* go up, according to their Request, without extraordinary, or divine Direction. But in this 28th *ver.* it is related, that he had a Revelation of God's Purpose of calling him up. The Lord heard the Voice of your Words, *and spake unto me—Stand thou here by Me, and I will speak unto thee all the Commandments, Statutes and Judgments, which thou shalt teach them.* This Revelation was made to him, while he was *among* them; and *before* he was actually called up to the Mount the fourth Time. But tho' the heavenly Correspondence might, this Day, end with the audible Proclamation of *the Decalogue*, and *Moses* might not immediately go up, yet, as it was in such close Connection with their Fears and Request, it is set down, *Exod. xx. 21.* as if he had immediately gone up into the Cloud. So that here is an evident *Anticipation, Exod. xx. 21.*

4. The fourth Time of *Moses's* Going up was that which is more distinctly related, *Exod. xxiv. 1, 2.* and Verses 13, 15, 18. *And he said to Moses, come up unto the Lord, thou and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and 70 of the Elders, and MOSES ALONE shall come near the Lord.* This was agreeable to their Request; and *Aaron's* going with *Moses*, was according to a Promise, *Exod.*

Exod. 24. which looks as if *Aaron* was to accompany him the first Time of his being called up. But this Going up must certainly be by express Order, as to the Time.—Now there doth not appear any Order for *Moses's* going into the Mount, after the audible Publication of the *Ten Commandments*, till this, which is set down, *Exod.* xxiv. 1, 2. But in this Order, all the Circumstances agree. *Aaron* goeth up with him, according to the former Promise, to a certain Distance; *Moses* goeth alone beyond those Limits, according to the People's Desire; and agreeable to the very short anticipated Account of it, *chap.* xx. 21. *Moses* drew near to the thick Darkness where God was; where, in the Energy of his Presence, he was peculiarly manifest. This Going up is more distinctly related, as to the Ends of divine Wisdom, in these miraculous Interviews, *Exod.* xxiv. 12. And the Lord said unto *Moses*, Come up to Me in the Mount, and BE THERE, and I will give thee Tables of Stone, and a Law, and Commandments, which I HAVE WRITTEN, that thou mayest teach them. Now *Moses* going up at this Time, was in order to receive the Laws; and his being there for some Time, was for the greater Solemnity, and that he might have Time to fix it in his Memory. This was the first forty Days Stay in the Mount; in which Space of Time he received all the Laws, of a judicial and moral Nature, which are set down from *Exod.* xx. 22d ver. to the End of *chap.* xxiii. And at such Intervals as God saw fit, he also received the Ceremonial and Ritual Part, set down from the Beginning of the twenty-fifth Chapter, to the End of the thirty-first. And then this heavenly Conference was closed with the Delivering the Two Tables complete, into the Hands of the favourite Prophet, *chap.* xxxi. 18.

5. There is no Chasm in the History, betwixt *Exod.* xxxi. 18. and *chap.* xxxii. 7, 15, 19th Verses. We have the amazing Story of their Idolatry, in the Matter of the Golden Calf, circumstantially related, and the Time when this Abomination happened. In the Height of their impious Joy, *Moses* surprizeth the People, on his Descent from the first forty Days Stay on the Mount. He was informed of it, by God himself, before he came down. But yet, so provoking was their flagitious Mirth, in which he found them, that in the Sallies of his Indignation, he broke the Tables, as he drew near the Camp.—This was no Time for communicating any of those Judgments and Statutes, imparted to him in the long, heavenly Conference. All was infinite Confusion thro' the whole Camp, and the Occasion was too profligate to admit of any gracious Communications. *Moses* himself was in the highest Fermentation of Spirit, and ordereth an immediate Slaughter among the guilty Tribes, of those who were suspected, or perhaps were known to be most concerned in fomenting that impious Distrust in God. And this was to be executed with inexorable Severity on the nearest Relations, ver. 27.—There was great Wrath declared against them from the Lord. *Moses* himself was in the greatest Agonies of Fear, lest God should be provoked to a total Desertion of them. For many severe Threatenings were denounced, which,

which, tho' they were only to terrify them, and awake them to deep Repentance, yet might have been justly executed, consistently with all preceding Promises. For a Forfeiture on our Part, may justly reverse any Promises on God's Part.—I say then, that in this Season of universal Distraction among the People, and righteous Wrath from the Almighty, there could be no apt Occasion for any such condescending Commerce as is described, *Exod. xxiv. 3, 4, 5, &c.*

6. *Moses*, after much importunate *Intercession*, and humble Pleading with God for Pardon, and the Return of his Presence, (which God has allowed to be the Means of regaining forfeited Mercies) at last obtaineth a new Direction and Order to return to the divine Presence in the Mount, *Exod. xxxiv. 1, 2, 3.* in which were these Particulars: He was to *prepare* and carry up with him two new Tables; and God *promised* to inscribe on them the Words of the former Tables which he had broke, and God accordingly *did write* on these Tables the Ten Commandments, and *delivered* them thus *inscribed* to Moses, *Deut. x. 4.* From which Words it is clear, that the *second* Tables were delivered to Moses *finished*, like the first; and that he had no Hand in doing any thing about them, but *preparing* and *carrying* them.—*Moses* was instructed in Reading the first Tables, but might have forgot the Characters, after they were so shattered, and so he had them *repeated*; and was fully *perfected* in Reading and Writing, before he came the second Time from his forty Days Stay on the Mount. For before he came down he received the *first* Command for *Writing down the Law*, *Exod. xxxiv. 27.* The Lord said to *Moses*, WRITE THOU *these Words*; for after the Tenour of *these Words*, have I made a Covenant with Thee, and with Israel.

After this Command for Writing the Law, and after Receiving the Two Tables as a Pattern for Writing, *Moses* goeth down from the second forty Days Abode upon the Mount; attended however with this peculiar Circumstance, that his Face shone with a supernatural Lustre and Radiance. When he came down to the Camp, he convened the Elders; and tho' not only the Elders, but *Aaron* himself, were terrified at the miraculous Shining of his Countenance; yet, upon his further Conversation with him, they and all the People came near; and he gave them in Commandment all that the Lord had spoken to him in Mount Sinai, *Exod. xxxiv. 32.*—Now I apprehend this is the same Interview and the same Instruction, which is proleptically mentioned, *Exod. xxiv. 3, 4:* And, indeed, it appears to me necessarily to be allowed. For there had been no Covenant declared to the People, before this last Coming down from the Mount. There is no Command mentioned for *Writing* any Law, or Covenant, till this Time. There could be no Statutes or Judgments *imparted* to the People before this Time, for there was no fit Opportunity for it. Now, *Exod. xxiv. 3, 4.* it is said that *Moses* TOLD the People ALL the Words of the Lord, and ALL the Judgments, and he wrote ALL the Words of the Lord. Now it is plain, by the whole History, that he had no Judgments

ments to communicate which he could have *received* from God, *before* his *first* Going up for forty Days, into the Mount; and he had no Opportunity of *delivering* any, before the *second* forty Days Stay; so that whether he could *write* or not, he could not either *Write*, or *Read*, or *Tell* Judgments, which he had *never received*; and he did *not* receive these Judgments *before* that Time, but *at that Time*, or as near as it could be *after* it, *Deut. iv. 14.* But now upon the People's due Humiliation, and becoming more fit for the Manifestations of the divine Favour, *Moses* repeats to them the Law in Order, and then according to the last Command, *writes* them down in a Book or Tables, and *reads* them distinctly to the People, *Exod. xxxiv. 32:*

This short Account of it here is sufficient; because it was related more largely, *chap. xxiv.* from the second to the ninth Verse.

7. I now proceed to account for the *Dislocation*, *Exod. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.* That it must be so, I think, I have proved; how it might happen, may be naturally accounted for. In order to which, I propose this Conjecture.—The Books of the Law were not *published* all together, but successively; having perhaps their Priority according to their Importance. The general *Abstract* of the Whole, was first *audibly published* in the Ears of the whole People, and *miraculously written* as a Pattern for *Writing*. Then the next Branch as of greatest Consequence, the *moral and judicial* Law, was next delivered of God to *Moses*; and in that Order was first imparted to the People in *Teaching* it verbally; and in like Manner it was first *written down*. So that it was the the very *first* Book, or little Volume of human Writing, that ever was in in the World.

This first Volume probably begun with these Words in *Exod. xx. 22.* *The Lord said unto Moses, thus thou shalt say unto the Children of Israel, Ye have seen that I have talked with you from Heaven, &c.* And this Part of the Law ended, *Exod. xxiii. 33.*

Now it was very natural to insert, at the End of this first Book, an Historical Account of what did actually happen upon its being finished or wrote out, *viz.* The *distinct Reading* it to the People, and their dutiful Reply, when they heard it spoken and read; and also the Sacrifice which was solemnized on that Occasion, where *Moses* presided, and the First-born officiated, *ver. 5.* and then the ratifying the Covenant, by the sprinkling the Blood both on the Book, and the Altar, and the People.

Those Laws which related to their Ritual of Worship, the Tabernacle, Vessels, sacred Garments, and other Utensils, were not of such Expedition. *Moses* could communicate those at Leisure, as should be necessary for the Direction of the Artificers for the preparing the Materials and working them up. So that now, upon the whole, I take it to be sufficiently clear, that there is no Account even of *Moses himself* writing one single Line, before he came down from the Mount this last Time with the *second Tables* finished, in his Hands.

S E C T. III.

Writing often named by Moses after giving the Law.

BUT after *Moses's* last Descent from Mount *Sinai*, Writing is mentioned upon every natural Occasion, and often incidentally.

1. *Moses* was commanded to write the Laws in a Book, just before his coming down, *Exod.* xxxiv. 27.

2. He actually did accordingly write one Part, and read it to the Assembly, *Exod.* xxiv. 4, 7.

3. He was commanded to write the Story of the War with the *Amalekites*, for the special Use of *Josuah*, *Exod.* xvii. 14.

4. *Moses*, after a short Recapitulation of some of the Fundamental Principles of Religion and Virtue, lays down this Direction or Command, *Deut.* vi. 9. *Thou shalt write* them on the Posts of thy House, and on thy Gates.

5. In the Description given of the Duty of their future Kings, one necessary Part of the Regal Care and Employment was to be, *Writing* a Copy of the Law, and reading frequently therein, *Deut.* xvii. 18, 19th Verses.

6. *Moses* layeth an Injunction upon them, when they should be settled in *Canaan*, to take the utmost Care in the the most public Manner to record these Laws, on Columns plaistered properly for this Purpose, and plainly wrote, that they might be easily read, *Deut.* xxvii. 3, 8, and 9th Verses.

7. Immediately after the Rebellion of *Corah* and his Company, when God would by a Miracle determine the Controversy about the Priesthood; he orders *Moses* to procure twelve Rods, and to write the Names of each Head of his Tribes upon his Rod, to distinguish whose Rod should be found in Blossom, *Numb.* xvii. 2. So that *Writing* soon came into familiar Use among them.

8. We have, *Deut.* xxxi. 9, 11, 26. a finishing Hand put to the whole written Law, and to all that *Moses* with the Assistance of Inspiration wrote, even the whole *Pentateuch*. This finished Volume he delivered to the Priests, and to all the Elders of *Israel*, with this final Order, that it should be *statedly read* in their solemn Assemblies. And he delivered to them a *correct Copy* to be laid up in, or by, the Ark of the Covenant.

9. We find the Use of *Writing* soon brought into all their National and Civil Affairs. For, *Numb.* xxxiii. 2. *Moses wrote their Goings out, according to their Journeys, by the Commandment of the Lord.* We see they were not to be any longer liable to the like Uncertainty in the Knowledge of their past Affairs, as they must have formerly been; for, by Divine Command, they were to assist their Memory by Records. And this seems to be in Part a Parallel to the Journeying of the Patriarchs; therefore their not *choosing* to write such a History, or not being commanded to do so, was because *Writing* was not

not then known.—And it seemeth plain that *Writing* was brought into Use for *Geographical*, as well as other *Historical* Purposes. The *Division* of the Land of *Canaan*, made by *Moses*, to the two Tribes and an half; and by their victorious General, to the nine Tribes and an half, could not well be performed without a punctual *Writing* down this *Survey*. If God commanded *Moses* to record in *Writing* all their Journeys, it should appear as necessary that this *Division* should have been as carefully recorded, on which their Peace so much depended, after their Journeying was over. Accordingly, the first Part of the ancient Book of *Joshuah* seemeth to have been a kind of Journal of the War, drawn up by this great Commander himself, with a *Geographical* Description of the conquered Country, like *Cæsar's Commentaries*; tho' it might, in some Things, be afterwards methodized by *Samuel*, who was himself a Prophet and a Governor. So that this Book was not only an History of the War, but also an authentic *Survey*, or *Doom's-Day-Book*, always ready to be appealed to, as a final Decision, in all Disputes about Property and Boundaries, *Josh. xviii. 6.*

And now, when the People were in considerable Part settled, all their principal Civil Affairs, as well as Sacred, were committed to *Writing*. *Joshuah*, some Time before his Death, conveneth the Heads of the Nation, and along with a strenuous Exhortation to Obedience to the Divine Law, he referreth them to the *Geographical* Description, or *Survey* of all the Country, comprehended in the Royal Grant of Providence, tho' much of it was then unconquered; and he encourageth them to undertake and prosecute the Conquest, *Josh. xxiii. 3, 4, 5.* They had the *Magna Charta* of the *Hebrew* State, with this *Survey* annexed, viz. the Law of God, and Obedience to which Law was to be their Security of holding these Lands. The *Geographical* Description in *Writing* contained an Account of the *Countries* granted to them; and the Law in *Writing* contained the *Conditions* of their holding Possession, or of perpetual Tenure. So that in 40 or 50 Years Time, *Writing* was applied to all their Affairs.

SECT. IV.

The third Objection, concerning what may be called Moses's Silence, as to the Revelation of Letters, considered.

3d Object. **I**T may be objected, that *Letters* were not miraculously discovered to *Moses*; because he taketh no Notice of this Event of the first *Revealing* or *Discovery* of this Art. His Silence is a strong Presumption against this Proposition; so that the Argument of the Silence of the Historian, so much insisted on before, recoileth.

1. I answer, that the History of the two Tables is written with *such Circumstances*, and these so often repeated, as appear to me *equivalent* to an express Declaration, that *Letters* were at that Time *supernaturally* discovered to Mankind, and that they were ignorant of them before. The two Tables were written by *the Finger of God*, therefore not by the Finger of Man. These Commandments were *written* by God himself, *before* the Time, when *Moses* was called up to receive them, *Exod. xxiv. 12.* So that *Moses* could have no Hand in that Writing, nor any other human Scribe.

2. God never works unnecessary Miracles in performing any Operation for us, which we can do ourselves, as I formerly noted. It would look like prostituting the divine Interpositions to work a Miracle, which as to the Matter of it, was only a Piece of a common Mechanic, or Engraver's Work, *viz.* inscribing the two Tables, if *Moses* or any other Person *could* have done it. 'Tis the only Miracle of the mechanic Kind that occurreth in the whole Bible. The Dimensions and Materials of the Ark were *appointed* by Revelation, but the Workmanship was Man's. The Form and Materials of the Tabernacle were *determined* by Revelation, but the Artificers executed the Work. So it was with Regard to all other Writings, except the *two Tables* alone; God gave Revelations, and Man *wrote* them; which surely intimateth, that Man wrote as soon as he was capable of it.*

3. If *Moses* *knew* Writing when he went up to the Mount, then this miraculous Inscription on the Tables was very liable to Imposture. It was performed in *Secret*, and therefore the People could have nothing but *Moses's* own Word for it, that it was divine Writing. But if they had never heard of Writing before, and knew that *Moses* could *not* write, they might very well believe it to be Divine, according to his constant Report, that it was the *Finger of God*. But yet as,

4. God never appealeth to any Miracles, but such as are out of the Reach of any known human Power, either as to the Matter or Manner of the Operation; so this wonderful Operation of *Writing* is not appealed to for a *Proof* of its coming from God. The Miracles appealed to, as Credentials of a divine Mission, are such *open* and *public* Operations as are above any known human Power to imitate and counterfeit in all their Circumstances. Thus *Writing* was a supernatural Discovery, or Revelation from God. It was not found out by *Moses's* Sagacity, any more than the other Laws were the Effect of his own Reasoning. But *Moses* calls the Inscriptions on the Tables, the *Finger of God*, and he calls the other Laws the *Speaking of God*. The People neither *saw* the Tables delivered, nor did they *hear* any Words spoken besides the *Ten Commandments*: But the other Miracles of Mount *Sinai*, which they saw and heard, were appealed to, as a Proof of *Moses's* divine Legation,

* Vid. *Owen. Theologoum*, p. 292. "Cum autem nulla Vestigia extant Scripturæ alicujus
 " Sacræ, ex Dei mandato, exaratæ ante Deluvium, Literarum Usus tunc temporis cogni-
 " tum non fuisse. [redacted] Hæc suspicari, cum res certa sit."

Legation, and that he had these Revelations of *Writing*, and of the *Law* from God himself, or some Angel or heavenly Minister appointed by him.

It must doubtless be very astonishing to the People, when they found dumb and lifeless Stone capable of conveying to them the Mind of God, for speaking Stones must have been very amazing, while they were a new Thing in the Earth. But yet, as this was only imparting a new Art, which would so soon come into general Practice, it is never appealed to as a Miracle, tho' it really was so. It could be but *once* a Miracle among them, being capable of being repeated afterwards as oft as they pleased; whereas the Thundering and Lightning could never be by them repeated.

5. There were many Revelations given to Mankind, *before* the Law, and many *after* it. The first Law, concerning the Tree of Knowledge, the Promise concerning the Seed of the Woman's Victory, the Institution of the Sabbath, the Law and Promises to *Noah*, on the new Plantation of the World. These were all *public* Things, in which all human Kind were concerned; yet they do not appear to have been *wrote* at all, till *Moses's* Time. There were many *after* the giving the Tables, as the whole System of Worship under the *Jewish* Oeconomy; the Laws of the *Hebrew* Commonwealth under a special Theocracy. The Prophecies concerning the *Messiah* before he came; the whole Doctrine of our Redemption by him; the authentic Assurance of our Acceptance upon true Repentance; and even the bringing Immortality to Light, in the Discovery of a Resurrection State. All these Revelations were at last *written*; all were written by Divine Command; and yet all were written by the *Hands of Men*, except the two Tables alone. Is it not very inexplicable, that none of all the Revelations *before* the Tables, should be written *at all*, at the Time of their being given? and that none *after* that Time should be written, but by the Hands of *Men*, and yet the Tables should be miraculously written by the *Finger of God*? All this is inexplicable on Supposition that Writing was known *before* the Tables: But on the contrary Supposition, all is intelligible and natural. And it is very credible that Writing *not* having been discovered by the Sagacity of Man, God should condescend to reveal it, to answer so great an End, as perpetuating the Knowledge of his Will, when the Life of Man was so much shortened, as not to be capable of preserving it by Tradition.

6. I further observe, that *all* is set down by *Moses*, that could be necessary for his *first* Readers to be informed of, concerning *the Original of Letters*. They knew as well as he did, that the Inscriptions on the Tables were the Original of Writing among them. There could be no Necessity of inserting that Remark in *that* Age, because the *whole* People knew it. And tho' it was a Miracle, it was not appealed to as a Miracle, since there were Multitudes of conspicuous ones besides. As far as it was necessary for future Ages to know this Point, they were to find it out, by reasoning on that correct History, which *Moses* wrote of Events past, and their Observations on Mankind in

After-times. They could see that *Moses* never mentioned Letters *before* the Law, nor often omitted it *after*. So that taking all these Circumstances together, I think it must be owned that *Moses* relates this Transaction in such a Manner, as to be equivalent to saying, *God now revealed Letters*. We have not *Moses's* Silence in this Point to plead against the Proposition.

S E C T. V.

That none is ever mentioned in known Time to have found out Letters of themselves.

I MAKE use of a third Argument to prove the Probability of Letters being imparted by *Revelation*, that there is no Instance mentioned in the World, within known Time, of any one finding out of himself the Art of Reading, and Alphabetical Spelling. Tho' it is now familiarly known to every body, that a Man can upon Paper send his Thoughts to another Ten, one hundred, or one thousand Miles off; and tho' the Characters he makes use of are known, yet I have never heard of any one that could learn of themselves, what seems so very obvious a Thing, the compounding these Characters so as to make Words, or Sounds, out of them. The *Europeans* have for several Ages conversed with the whole Coast of *Africa*, and different Parts both of *Asia* and *America*, (where the undisciplined Natives carry on a Commerce with them) without teaching them any Notion of an *Alphabet*. The Natives observe, that by a Bit of Paper, they can impart their Mind to each other, far beyond the Reach of Seeing, or Hearing; and yet not one of them, without Instruction, ever find out the Way of accommodating these Characters, or any others, to express their own Words, or Language, from the inventive *Chinese*, to the rudest *Hotentot*, or *Mexican*.

There is something so astonishing in this Art, as may justly authorize our calling it, indeed, a *Divine Art*. It was perfect at first, and has never received what can be called any Improvement of *Alphabet*, from the Beginning to this Day. The Alphabet for all Languages, or that would accommodate to all articulate Sounds, are found in the *Hebrew Decalogue*, and all the *Hebrew Letters*, except *Teth*. All the Ways, in which the Organs of Speech came to be made use of, to touch each other, in pronouncing articulate Sounds, have a Mark or Character for them, and a Name expressive of their Power in Sound, whether Guttural, Labial, Lingual, Dental, or however distinguished. And tho' some Letters are added to the *Greek Alphabet*, such as ϕ , χ , ψ , ω ; yet these Compounds will not add to Language any new Sounds; f will sound like ϕ , k like χ , they are but p and c with an Aspirate, or H , ph and ch . And the Original Alphabet of the Decalogue has Letters to answer them; as *Caph* and *Koph*, ϕ and p , and ψ *Pe*, with or without a *Dagesh*, as copiously as any improved ones.

S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

The Objection taken from the Mention of other Books in Moses's Writings, considered.

ANother Objection that may be made to this Proposition, may be taken from the Mention of other Books in *Moses's* own Writings, such as these which follow.

(1.) The famous Instance is *Numb. xxi. 14. Wherefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, what he did in the Red Sea, and in the Brooks of Arnon.* There is great Obscurity in the *Hebrew*, in this Place, which has occasioned Diversity of Opinions among Commentators and Critics. The *Septuagint* Version gives the Text this Turn: *It is said in the Book, that the War of the Lord kindled a Fire in, or burnt up Zoob and the Brooks of Arnon.* They speak not of the *Book of the Wars of Jehovah*, but they refer to some *Book*. In this Version it is manifest, if the *Hebrew* Copy was the same we now make use of, the 72 Interpreters must have mistook the Initial Letter *Vau* for *Zain*; reading *Zoob* instead of *Kabeb*: And as they took it for the proper Name of a Place, there could be no certain Guide to the Orthography, by the Sense; since the Original Reason for giving Names might be frequently lost. But then they did not take *Besuphab* for a proper Name, for this is the only Word in the *Hebrew* Text, to answer to the *Greek* Word *ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, made use of by the Seventy. Yet again, they must have taken it for a Noun, tho' they translate it as a Verb, which will agree with the Idiom of most Languages; to *inflame*, or to *put into a Flame*, is equally just Expression. So that they took the Sense to be this; It was named in *some Book*, that the War of the Lord *put or left Zoab* (perhaps *Moab*, according to *Grotius*) *Besuphab, in a Flame, in violent Combustion, or Agitation*; a strong figurative Manner of Speaking to express the utmost Perplexity.

(2.) Others, pointing differently from the *Septuagint*, give this Sense: *Wherefore, in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, it is said, or related, what he did at Suphah, and the Brooks of Arnon.* These Commentators, taking *Jamar* in the Preter Tense, consider this Book as an *Amorite* History, recording their late Conquests of the *Moabites*, and here cited by *Moses*. But, as the ingenious *Mr. Pyle* [upon the Place] observeth, it is very hard to account for it, how these *Pagan* Records could be called *the Book of the Wars of Jehovah*; especially if we consider that the *Amorites* were at that Time ripe for Destruction; and probably more profligate and abandoned than the *Moabites*.

(3.) Others, not satisfied with this Conjecture, that this Book was an *Amorite* History, translate *Jamar* in the Future Tense: *IT SHALL be said or related,*

lated, viz. these Events, of passing the *Arnon*, and the Victories at *Vabeb* in *Suphab*, will be memorable Things in the After-History of the Warlike Progress of the People of God. This Sense Mr. Pyle and *Le Clerc* espouse, and if this be the Sense, then this Passage of Scripture doth not affect our Argument.

(4.) The *English* Translators seem to take this Passage for a Quotation, but take *Vebeb* for a Verb, *fecit* or *dedit*; what he did *Besuphab* in or at the *Red Sea*.

I take the most probable Account of the whole to be this: That there was then among the *Hebrews* a Book, called the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, from which Book this Verse was a Citation. That this Book was (most probably) a Collection of Poems, or Historical Songs, composed on the various most memorable Occurrences that befel them thro' the Wilderness. Pious and devout Persons might well be supposed to employ their Wit and Genius in such an useful Manner, in the Leisure of the Wilderness, and in the Exercise of their new Art of Writing. Now as the Passage of the *Arnon*, and the Action which accompanied it, was one of the first Military Undertakings of that Generation, the Commencement of the War, and the Introduction into the promised Inheritance, it is natural enough to suppose, that there might be some short devout Ode or Hymn, composed on Occasion of this first Success. This might be repeated, and perhaps sung, by the Troops, to animate them in their further Military Fatigues. And tho' this Action near the *Arnon*, was but a little Time before the Death of *Moses*, yet it being an Opening their Way into the Land, it would be very memorable. This Song, or Hymn, might be composed immediately after the Event; and being one of the last Compositions of this Kind, might be grown very familiar, before the drawing up this Part of the Book of *Numbers*, and be proper to refer to, when the Passage of the River was historically related. Again further, if we take *Vabeb* to be, not a proper Name, but a Verb, according to our *English*, and several other Versions, it may, by putting *Vau* for *Jod*, according to the Usage of the *Hebrew*, as to the Letters *Ebevi*, be translated what he gave or did [*dedit* or *fecit*] *Besuphab* at the *Red Sea*; and this will be very pertinently connected with this Action at the River of *Arnon*. The Events being similar, the Passage of a River, and the Passage of the Sea, and being both remarkable Changes of Country, the Poet inserted them both together in this memorial Hymn. It is manifest, that the Taste of Composing little memorial Odes, on remarkable Occasions, did obtain among them; as *Numb. xxi. 17.* the Digging a Well in an Extremity of Thirst, furnished Matter for one of these short gratulatory Hymns. And I take it, that Verses 27 to the 30th, afford us another Instance of a Military devout Song, composed on Occasion of the Conquest of the *Amorites*. The People of *Israel* having conquered *Heshbon*, which Kingdom had lately had such Success against *Moab*, they celebrate their own Victory, as being gained over a conquering People. *Heshbon's*

Ben's Success against *Moab* is recited in the first Part of the Ode, *Verses* 27, 28, 29. and the *Hebrews* Success against *Heshbon*, in the latter, v. 30. *We have shot at them. Heshbon*, the Capital of this potent Kingdom is perished, which was lately triumphant.

2. We meet with the Mention of another Book, as well known among them, viz. the *Book of Jasher*, Josh. x. 13. and it appeareth to have been a noted Book long after, 2 Sam. i. 18. I apprehend this to be the same Book with the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, viz. a Collection of devout Poems, or sacred Songs, composed on remarkable Occasions; and some way joined together, and gathered into One Volume, tho' of different Dates. Thus it might contain both the triumphal Song on the Conquest of *Adonibezek*, attended with the preternatural Phenomenon of stopping the Sun; and *David* might add to it the *Funeral Poem* on the Death of *Saul* and his Sons.

Mr. *Pyle's* fine Criticism goeth a great Way to determine as to this Opinion. *Jasher* may be naturally derived from the Hebrew Root *שמר* *shur*, to sing; and so all these Citations may refer to the Hymn or Song-Book, or to the Collection of devout historical Poems, or Odes. And the Quotations, being all in a poetical Strain and Manner, strengthen this Criticism beyond reasonable Exception.

I would here offer a Conjecture, as to the Materials out of which our present *Psalms* were compiled. Many of these ancient Poems might be composed by *Moses* himself, under all the Inspiration that was to render them true and edifying. Suppose the Song of *Moses* on the passing of the *Red Sea*, *Exod.* xv. was one of the first in the Collection, which might be made, as to the Substance of it, on that Occasion, tho' not penned till after the giving the Law, *Psal.* xc. was certainly the Composition of *Moses*, and probably made upon the last Reduction of Man's Life, when all that Generation was to die in 39 Years. Many were composed by *David* himself; and others, which have not the Author's Name prefixed, nor any Chronological or other Characters to determine their Dates, or the Occasions of their being wrote, might be contained in this ancient Book of sacred Hymns. To which were added, in successive Time, all the pious Odes, or Songs, made by eminent Saints and Prophets, down to the Captivity, and the Return from it. And these might be collected into the *Book of Psalms*, by *Extra*.

S E C T. VII.

The Objection, taken from some Places being called the City of Books, considered.

A Further Objection may arise from the Name of the City of *Debir*, being called by the *Canaanites*, *Kirjath-Sepher*, Judg. i. 11. translated by the Seventy, *πολις γραμματων*, the City of Letters, and *Kirjath-Sannab*, the City of Teaching, Josh. xv. 44. This seemeth to intimate, that they had Books and Learning among them; and that this City was so named for some Eminency therein. But the very Learned Dr. Owen observes, with great Critical Skill, "That *Sapbar* properly signifieth *recensere* and *numerare*, to recite, rehearse, and enumerate; and not *scribere*, to write, but *per accidens*." *

It is plain that there could be no Name for *Writing*, or *Books* in any Language, till there was such a Thing known to be so named; but there was Recital, Narration, Enumeration, or Speaking to each other, soon known in the World: But when *Writing* was discovered, it was found to be so perfect a Way of Reciting, Rehearsing and Communicating, that it was by Way of Eminence called *Sapbar*, to relate. Thus the fifth Chapter of *Genesis* is called the Book of the Generations of *Adam*, tho' but a very small Part of the Book of *Genesis*; but it is very properly called *Sepher*, or the Recital and Enumeration of the Generations of *Adam*. Again; this City might be called *Kirjath-Sannab*, *Civitas Doctrinae*, for the like Reason. Their principal Learning must have consisted in History, or the Narration and Recital of Facts, the Actions and Opinions of others, by Word of Mouth, if they had not Letters. In this Manner all our Tutors teach the Sciences, and inculcate Truth by verbal Lectures, as we say; which is a similar Use of Words in Modern Languages: We now call Teaching, Lectures or Readings; they called Teaching, *Sepher*, Narration or Speaking, because Reading is now the common Way of improving Knowledge; and Speaking, or verbal Instructions, might be the common, or only Method then. Verbal Teaching is now *per accidens*, called Lecturing, as *Sepher* was then called *Writing* or *Reading*, tho' it might really, in the Original Meaning of the Word, signify nothing more than a particular solemn Narration by Teachers, for the Instruction of their Scholars: And this Name for Teaching continued even after Letters were discovered, and then was principally applied to this Use of Letters; all Teaching then was called Lecturing. This Place might be called the City of Learning, or be a College for Instruction, where many learned Men resided, who made it their Business to study all the ancient Traditions, and to preserve all the Story of past Times, as perfectly as they could. So that it might

* Theologum. Lib. IV. cap. 3. Woolsty. Scrip. Belief. p. 319.

might be called the City of *Learning*, with equal Propriety, whether they had the Use of *Letters*, or not.

On this Occasion, I would take the Liberty to offer a Conjecture concerning *Moses's Egyptian Learning*, and the *Oral Law* of the *Jews*.—To me it appeareth that the *Rabbinical Account* of the Preservation of their *Oral Law* from *Moses*, by *verbal Conveyance*, or successive Tradition, down to the *Great Synagogue*, may be considered as a genuine Hint of the ancient Manner of Teaching in *Egypt*, from whence they came; and perhaps in *Canaan* too; for the *Canaanites* had their *Kirjath-Sepher*, and *Kirjath-Sannah*, their City of *Learning* and Instruction, as well as *Egypt*. The Learning in both was probably this; they had their studious and learned Men by Profession, who made it their Business to study all their Traditions, who kept Schools or Places of Instruction, and held what we now call *Lectures*, that is, solemn *verbal Teaching* of all such Sciences as they had any Knowledge of. This public Instruction was not in proper *Lectures*, or *Readings*, which they knew nothing of; but in Dissertations and Teaching *viva voce*, or in studied declaring and speaking as Masters, or Tutors, all they knew, in successive Lessons to their Auditors. In this, probably, History of great and memorable Actions, their Civil, National History of Laws, and Wars, had a great Part. Thus these Cities were the Place of Records. *Moses* might be brought up in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, in this Manner; and it might be properly called *all* their Learning, if they had no more. And very considerable Improvements he might make in this Method of Education, and yet have no Knowledge of *Letters*, since this was not at that Time a Part of *Egyptian Learning*.

Now it seemeth very strange, and is very difficult to be accounted for, that the *Jews* should have taken up, or have invented so fanciful and so odd a Tradition concerning their Ancestor's Conduct, without some Pattern. It could not be for their Honour, that they should strive to preserve the Remembrance of Things of Moment in the *most troublesome*, inconvenient, and most uncertain Way by *Oral Tradition*, when they had so *perfect* and convenient, so easy and certain a Method of preserving every Thing of Consequence, by *Writing*.—But the Case was probably this: *Verbal Teaching*, or Remembrancing, was all the Method they were acquainted with *before*; for Records or Instructions of any Kind, either relating to past Facts and Transactions, or Genealogies, or any Laws, Doctrines, or Speculations whatsoever. This traditional Instruction was all the Method known in *Egypt* or *Canaan*, and particularly in the *Abrahamic Family*. *Joseph* and *Levi*, who educated their Children in this Method of verbal Instruction, and could bring it down to the third or fourth Generation, (for *Joseph* lived to see his Great Grandson) *Joseph*, I say, could inform his Posterity that *Jacob* educated him in this Manner; and that *Isaac* and *Abraham* had used it before; and he could (probably) assure them, that *Abraham* had only this Kind of *verbal*

traditional Instruction from *Terah*, who had the like from *Noah* himself. And *Noah* must have been the great Professor of History, Chronology, Theology, and all other Sciences, till the Dispersion, tho' assisted by *Japhet*, *Shem*, and *Ham*. For, as he was the most perfect Master of all ancient Truths and Facts, so he was most at Leisure, because he had no Children after the Flood. — Thus *Aaron* and all that Generation were instructed by verbal Teaching, while they stayed in *Egypt*. But then the Generation, which conquered the Land, were mostly educated after Writing was discovered, and so might have this verbal Instruction assisted by Writing. However, many of these might have been initiated in this traditional Way of Teaching, who were about twenty Years old, at the Murmuring, *Numb.* xiv. 33. and so might retain a Veneration for it, even after a better Way was found out. — The Law was given 39 Years before the Conquest of *Canaan*, and there might be a considerable Readiness in Writing before that Time. But yet they would not speedily renounce a Method of preserving the Memory of Things past, which was Venerable for its Antiquity and Usefulness thro' all Ages before. *Moses* and *Aaron*, and the other Fathers of the Tribes, might be now and then exercising themselves in their old traditional Learning, before, or in the Hearing of the young Generation, which might create some Reverence in them for that ancient Manner of Learning. This might be the Foundation of the late *Rabbinical* Fiction about the *Oral Law*. *Joshua*, and the other Elders, might frequently employ themselves in recollecting all those Wonders more particularly; and perhaps there might be many Circumstances in those Recitals which were not written, tho' all were written that were necessary. This Method of Teaching they had been long accustomed to, and in this they would be very *adroit*. And as an Attachment to ancient Customs is so natural to all Men, this might be one Reason why Writing and Reading the Law is so often inculcated by *Moses*. — This Custom of traditional History, without Books, might be continued among them for some Ages, tho' no longer necessary. But when the true Origin and Reason of this Practice was lost, in Length of Time, when they knew not to what this Care in preserving old Traditions was to be ascribed, and yet perhaps met with some obscure Traces of such a Care, they fabled at last this Reason for it, and these fabulous Materials of it, the *Oral Law*. That it was delivered by *Moses* to *Joshuah*, and by him to the Elders from whom it came to the *Prophets*, who in Succession transmitted it to the *Great Synagogue*. This, by various absurd and groundless Traditions, was swelled to a great Bulk, before the *Misna* was wrote by *Rabbi-Judah-Hakkodesh*, or the *Holy*.

It is true, indeed, the *Oral Law* is never mentioned by *Philo*, or *Josephus*, or *Syrachides*; * tho' they mention many of their Traditions, which implieth, however, that they boasted of some Conveyance in this Way of Tradition,

* *Owen. Theolog.* p. 432.

Tradition, different from *Writing*. And this is all that I thought here necessary to remark upon what might be the ancient Way of Teaching by *verbal Tradition*, before they knew *Letters*.

S E C T. VIII.

Objection from the Book of Job, considered.

THE last Objection I shall consider, is that which ariseth from the supposed high Antiquity of the Book of *Job*, and from the expresse Mention of *Writing* therein by *Job* himself, *chap. xix. 23, 24.*

I can discern no Reason which should induce the Great *Newton* himself to suppose that *Letters* were in Use in *Arabia*, and that *Moses* learned them there, except what was drawn from *this Book*.

I shall now attempt as distinct an Answer as I am able, to the Difficulties alledged from *this ancient Book*. (1.) I acknowledge there is great Reason to believe that this Book doth refer to a *real History*, the Geography of the Country, and the Names and Descent of the Parties being so punctually set down in the historical Part of the Book.—It seemeth plain enough, that his Country was *Arabia*, and that his Situation was on the North East-side of that Country, adjacent to *Chaldæa*; because some of the Spoilers came upon him from that Region, *Job i. 17.* (2.) It seemeth undeniable, if this was a real History, that the Person, whose Story furnished a Subject for this sacred Poem, lived in the *Patriarchal Ages*, long before the Days of *Moses*. For it is expressly said, that he lived 140 Years after his Troubles, *Job xlii. 16.* And tho' his Age might be remarkably prolonged, so as to see all the Prosperity of a flourishing House, after his Restoration, as a Man might expect in that Age of the World from the Time of Manhood to a good Old-age, yet still his Years must have been Patriarchal. For *Job* had several Children at Age, before the Commencement of his Calamities, who feasted together in their eldest Brother's House, *Job i. 13.* And as the ordinary Years of their Marriage were, in that Age of the World, about 30 or 40. he might probably be about 60 or 70 Years old, when his Troubles came. So that his Age must be reckoned Patriarchal; for $60 + 140 = 200$. (3.) 'Tis further evident, that *Job* and his Friends were Worshippers of the true God, and therefore they were most probably of the same Descent. And as Idolatry was begun in *Chaldæa* before *Abraham's* Migration, so it may be apprehended to spread so fast, as to have become pretty general, except among the Descendants of *Abraham*. *Job* himself mentions *Star-Worship* as an Evil then known, tho' I think in such a Manner, as sheweth that it was then under some Kind of public Discouragement in that Country, *Job xxxi. 26, 27, 28.* However, as he lived 140 Years, probably after his Restoration,

storation, and so in the *Patriarchal* Age; and as he was so *pious* a Man, we may presume that he was of a pious Education, and probably a Descendant, if not a Son of *Ishmael*.—I think him rather a Son of *Ishmael*, than of *Esau*, for these two Reasons; *first*, that this brings him nearer in Time to the longeval Ages, and so makes his great Longevity more natural. And, *secondly*, as *Ishmael* certainly settled in *Arabia*, where *Moses* resided for forty Years, he would be like to hear the Story of *Job* very perfectly among the *Arabians*; whereas he appears not to have had any Correspondence with the *Edomites*.—And as to *Ishmael's* Knowledge of true Religion, there is good Evidence for that. He would be well educated in good Principles under *Abraham's* Care. And it is manifest, that the two Families did not drop their Correspondence afterwards, for *Isaac* and *Ishmael* joined in *Abraham's* Funeral Solemnity, *Gen.* xxv. 9. And it is therefore probable that he might make frequent Visits to his Father *Abraham*, all his Life-time. And further, *Ishmael's* Family continued in Reputation for Religion, till after *Jacob's* being sent to *Padan-aram*; for *Esau* married one of his Daughters, in order to please his Parents by a more religious Alliance, *Gen.* xxviii. 6, 7, 9. Now this particular History of *Job*, as it could be related by himself, or any contemporary Friend, would lie thus:—“A Person of unexceptionable Character in the Land of *Uz*,
 “ who was very flourishing in a hopeful Family and ample Fortune, was by
 “ a sudden and singular Reverse of his Affairs, reduced from this opulent
 “ Condition, to the deepest Distress. In this astonishing Revolution, several
 “ of his Friends who, like himself, believed in the true God, made him
 “ their Visits of Condolency. Their first Behaviour and long Silence had a
 “ Decency and Tenderness in it, answerable to the Extremity of his Sor-
 “ rows, which raged thro' every suffering Passion of the human Heart, as
 “ his Affliction smote him in his *Kindred*, *Substance*, and *Person*. But his
 “ seeming Impatience, in cursing his Day, increased their Suspicions of his
 “ Integrity, which they seem to have first taken up from this most remark-
 “ able Blast of Providence. They looked upon such singular Judgments as
 “ a Proof of his being a bad Man, notwithstanding all his former fair Ap-
 “ pearances.—*Job*, from a Consciousness of his own Integrity in the main
 “ Tenor of his Life, sought for another Interpretation of them; and ar-
 “ gued strenuously, that Mens outward Condition cannot be admitted as
 “ a Proof of their moral Character, one Way or other. This Debate
 “ inflamed as it proceeded, and led each Party into some Indecencies, them
 “ into the Extremes of Censoriousness, and *Job* himself into faulty De-
 “ grees of Self-Justification, and Irritation of Spirit; which however, at
 “ last, subsided into the most calm and humble Submission to Providence.”
 This is all the Original Story, till *Job's* Restoration, which is Historically related in the Close of the Book. But now, that this was *real History*, may be further inferred from *Ezek.* xiv. 14. where *Job* is mentioned as an Instance of most successful *Intercession* for others. Also from *James* v. 11. where

where his exemplary *Patience* is taken Notice of. [See *Benson* on that Text.] And that this Divine Poem is Canonical Scripture may be gathered from the Manner of citing it by *St. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* iii. 19.

4. I apprehend that *Job* himself was *not* the Author of this Book. For there are such Encomiums of him as would be manifestly indecent for any Man to recite concerning himself. There is, indeed, a greater Decorum in Speaking fully to our own Character, when we are exculpating ourselves from censorious Accusations and Suspicions. But this pompous Encomium upon *Job* is set down in the plain historical Account of his Character, so as it cannot with Decency be ascribed to himself.

5. There is no Necessity of supposing, that any other contemporary Person wrote down the Story at that Time. Had *Writing* been then *known*, they might, probably, have done so; but we need not suppose that they had *then* the Knowledge of *Writing*, which, from other Arguments, is so improbable; since this Event might very easily be preserved another Way, even by Family Tradition.—For if *Job* lived 140 Years after his Restoration, then his eldest Son might be 138 Years old, before *Job*'s own Death. And allowing 30 Years to a Generation, the second Generation, or Grandson, might be 108 Years old. The third Generation, or G. Grandson might be 78. And the fourth Generation, or G. G. Grandson, might be 48 Years old at *Job*'s Death. And four Generations he certainly saw, *Job* xlii. 16. But if we allow 40 Years of Age for the Time of their Marriage, as was the Case with *Isaac*, and *Esau* too, *Gen.* xxv. 20. then *Job*'s Descendant of the fourth Generation might be 38 at *Job*'s Death; so that it might be a perfect Family Story above 100 Years after it; and be preserved very distinct to the Time of *Moses* residing in *Midian*. *Isaac* and *Ishmael*'s Lines would be thus:

Ishmael—*Job* — Son—Grandson—G. Grandson—G. G. Grandson.

Isaac — *Jacob*—*Levi*—*Kobath* — *Amram* — *Moses*.

But now, as we know not which of *Ishmael*'s Sons *Job* was, or whether any of the Twelve mentioned by *Moses*, *Gen.* xxv. 13. we may suppose him to have been about the Age of *Jacob*. And tho' *Jacob* was old before he married, yet, as *Job* had a large Family grown up before his Troubles, which were all cut off; his First-born, after the Return of his Prosperity, might not be far from the Age of *Levi*. And tho' again, *Kobath* and *Amram* were probably old, when they had their Children mentioned by *Moses*; yet *Moses* was young when he came to *Midian*, and the fourth Descendant, or G. G. Grandson of *Job* might be in advanced Years, yet able to tell *Moses* what he had heard his great Ancestor relate concerning these wonderful Revolutions in his own Life. It appeareth from hence, that, in the Course of Nature, *Moses* might have had this remarkable History from one who had heard *Job* himself relate it, and it must be the Subject of familiar Conversation betwixt *Moses* and the young Persons of the fifth Generation about Contemporaries with himself, who might be third Relaters from *Job* himself.

6. As *Moses* was so fully initiated in all *Egyptian* Learning, and as I take one of the principal Branches of that Learning to have been *History*, or a verbal Tradition, or Recital of past Events; so it is natural to think that he should carry that Taste with him into his new Settlement in *Midian*. He would be as naturally inquisitive after all their Memoirs of past Times, as a Scholar would now be in enquiring after Books. So that he could scarce miss so memorable an History as this of *Job*.

7. There was so obvious a *Similitude* in this Story to *Moses's* own Fortunes, that it must make the Narrative of it, particularly striking to him. *Moses* himself was then cast down from all his Expectations of the *Egyptian* Diadem, and sunk into the Obscurity of a Pastoral Life. He could not, therefore, fail of being very attentive to so extraordinary an Event, and could not but be very inquisitive to inform himself in the most ample Manner, concerning a Case which in many Respects was so like his own. It would be too recent to be forgot by the *Arabians*, in the fourth or fifth Generation from *Job*, where some might possibly be alive who had heard *Job* himself relate it. And it was so similar and striking a Parallel to his own Case, that it could not be disregarded by *Moses* in his fugitive Circumstances. So that it seems entirely worthy of his Character and Curiosity to get it fixed in his Memory.

8. It appears accordingly to be the most probable Opinion, that *Moses* was the Composer of this Divine Poem. [Vid. *Holsten. Vit. Pythag. apud Fabricium.*] Dr. Grey, in his Preface to *Schrelen's Job*, is also of this Opinion. Tho' this learned Person thinks it *ex authenticis Monumentis sumptus*. The Critics, indeed, observe that a great Tincture of *Arabic* runs thro' this Poem. [Pol. Synop.] But what Wonder is it that his Style should be tinged with *Arabic*, especially in relating an *Arabian* Story? The Diction might very well favour of the Tongue in which the Story was related, without supposing it to be a Translation from an *Arabic* History, or Poem, as the celebrated *Spanheim* suggesteth.

Again; the Suitableness of this remarkable Series of Events from Beginning to End, to the *Revolutions* in *Moses's* Life, could not but engage his particular Attention: His being depress'd into a servile State from the Prospect of the *Egyptian* Throne, and then exalted to the Government of his own Nation afterwards, from his Pastoral Crook, must affect him with this singular Exemplar, of which his own Life was a near Copy. This Congruity and Parallelism of Events might induce him, in the Leisure of 38 Years in the Wilderness, to draw up this Divine Poem. In which he had all the Inspiration necessary to make the Work perfect in its Kind; and a good and instructive Commentary on extraordinary Providences, which have been such great Mysteries to good Men in all Ages.

Upon

Upon the whole then ; tho' the History of *Job* related to an elder Age than that of *Moses*, yet we are no way constrained, to suppose it to have been written before that Time.

9. But besides the supposed Antiquity of this written Book, it may be further objected, that the Author makes *Job* himself, one of the Speakers in this *Drama*, refer expressly to *Writing*, as a known Custom of that Age ; therefore, if Letters were not then in Use among them, this would seem a very unnecessary Inaccuracy.

The famous Passage is, *Job* xix. 23, 24. *Oh that my Words were written ! Oh that they were printed in a Book ! that they were graven with an Iron Pen and Lead, in the Rock for ever !*

But I think even this is not an insuperable Difficulty. For, (1.) Upon our Argument, this might be the first Dramatical Performance, and so might not be exactly perfect in all the critical Parts of Composition. It is as much as could be expected, that *Moses* should make it an useful and edifying Narration of their Conversation in a general Way, poetically. (2.) All the Readers of this Poem in that Age, knew that these were not the precise Words of *Job*, or his Friends, but the Words of the Author, probably of *Moses* ; and therefore could not be much stumbled at this seeming *Anachronism*, in so small a Matter. The Poet is always just to the Characters of the Speakers, in his Representations of what they said. *They* are always *accusing*, and *Job* *defending*. Accordingly, this is expressing the Sentiments of *Job*, in a very natural Manner in great Complaint. He had fallen under the Disregard of all his other Friends, as well as *Them* ; and, as he thought, undeservedly. Now, in these Circumstances, this Complaint might have been made according to the Manners of his Age, in some such Way as this.—
 “ Oh that I had sufficient Witnesses of competent Capacity to *observe*, and
 “ Fidelity to *relate* your Accusations, and my Defence ; so that both might
 “ be perfectly remembered.” Now the Author of the *Drama*, tho' in the Manners of his own Age, expresth the same Sentiments of Distress in these Words : “ Oh that it were written in a Book ! Oh that it were engraven with
 “ a Pen of Iron in a Rock for ever ! ” Now this is the same Sentiment with the other, tho' it might be differently expressed by one that did, and one that did not understand *Writing*.

C H A P. V.

On the Traduction of Letters from the Hebrews to other Nations.

HAVING considered the celebrated Point of the Origin of *Letters*, or Alphabetical *Writing*, and brought it, I think, to the highest Probability, that the Art of *Writing* was derived from the Inscriptions on the Two Tables delivered to *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*.—Our next Enquiry must be about *what Time* this noble Art could probably be imparted or transmitted to any other Nations? I observe,

1. That there doth not appear any proper Opportunity of imparting this new Art to any other People, during the forty Years Sojourning in the Wilderness. For, during all this Space of Time, they had not any Correspondence or Commerce with any other Nation.

2. There is a like Improbability that this peculiar Art should have been communicated, during the Time of *Joshuah's* Conquests, or Government. For as soon as the *Hebrew* Nation commenced their Intercourses with the Natives, it was wholly in a State of War. Their Progress thro' the Country was attended with so numerous and rapid Victories, as must prevent any friendly Communications whatsoever. It doth not appear that they entered into any Leagues, or Alliances, with the old Inhabitants; or determined any Action by Treaty, except in the Contract which the *Gibeonites* fraudulently procured. All Friendships were explicitly prohibited; so that none escaped the Sword, except those who could make a Retreat, or could fly from them. They could not, therefore, enter into any such *improving* Correspondence, as that of teaching them any new Arts, during that Period.

3. In that Period, which passed betwixt the Death of *Joshuah* and the Government of *Samuel*, a great Degeneracy prevailed in the *Hebrew* Nation; and they frequently contracted very criminal Familiarities with the Natives which remained. But then, as the *Law* spoke with so much Severity against all the *National* Idolatries, and so punctually and rigidly prohibited all those *Alliances*, it is no way probable that the *Hebrews* would give any of the *Pagans* a Sight of their own *Law*, during those Times of guilty Friendship; because that Discovery must both exasperate their new Friends, and disgrace their new-chosen Superstitions.—I rather think that the *Israelites* themselves declined into a great *Ignorance* of the *Law*, and all other valuable Sciences. This was an ignoble Period, in which they sunk into many gross Immoralities and Disorders; and, as they were under a *Theocracy*, into answerable Calamities in Punishment for them. It is probable, that Government by their
Elders,

Elders was frequently very remiss; Arts were at a low Ebb, and the *Law* itself was little studied, or attended to. For every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes, as it is related concerning different Parts of this Period, *Judg.* xvii. 6. and xxi. 25.

Now, in such a Variety and Instability of Fortunes, there could not be any settled State for receiving or imparting from, or to, each other, any Sciences or Arts for mutual Improvement. They sometimes hurried with an impious Declivity into all the national Abominations about them; and then were speedily precipitated into, and languished under, bitter Oppressions, till God raised up some particular Deliverer. This was generally when their Sufferings had brought them to their Senses. But now they were not like to correspond with their Neighbours, in the Seasons of their own Prosperity and Power, for their Improvement in any Arts, when the other would be most like to regard them. For as to the *Hebrews* themselves, the Seasons of their Prosperity were Times of Obedience to God's Law, of which Obedience, their abstaining from Intimacies with their idolatrous Neighbours was a capital and important Part.—But again; when they were under Oppression, their Lords would not be like to value an Art which they were to receive from their Slaves; nor would they care for a Thing which they might understand to contain nothing in it, but the Hebrew Laws and Religion, which they despised or abhorred. So that there was little Likelihood of this Knowledge being communicated to the Heathen World, during this Period of the Government of the Judges, in the Hebrew Commonwealth.

4. We now arrive at the Augustan Age of the Hebrew Nation, the Reigns of David and Solomon. The first for Arms, and the second for all polite Arts and Sciences, being the very Apex of their Glory.—I think that Samuel was a polishing Governor, and considerably improved the Nation in his Time. They had been long without open Vision, 1 Sam. iii. 1. But he was a Prophet, and seemeth to have erected Schools for teaching Religion and the Sciences.* Such a Society of Learners, or Pupils, instituted by Samuel, and over which he presided, for their Instruction in the noble Sciences of Religion and Morality, must most probably be understood by the Company of Prophets which met Saul, 1 Sam. x. 10, 11. Saul's joining them, and prophesying among them, may be understood in this Sense, that God turned his Heart to relish other Kind of Meditations, and Discourses than he had been formerly accustomed to; and to take his Share in Conversation on those nobler Subjects, which were familiar among those Prophets, or learned Men, associated for Instruction under Samuel's Care. Again; some Things Samuel certainly wrote, as the Memoirs of David, 1 Chron. xxix. 29. And he also wrote in a Book the Manner of the Kingdom, 1 Sam. x. 15. which perhaps might be some Reflections, Moral or Political, on Government, or on the Inconvenience of being under arbitrary despotic Monarchies. He was certainly

tainly a great Man both for Capacity and Authority, and therefore like to improve the People. *Saul's* turbulent Reign was mostly contemporary with *Samuel's* Authority as a Prophet ; so that the Improvements by this Prince might be mostly in the Military Way. For he gained many considerable Victories, tho' he was at last defeated and slain in the fatal Action of Mount *Gilboa*, 1 *Sam.* xxxi. chap.—But *David*, who was his Successor, carried the Bounds of the *Hebrew* Empire to its greatest Extent, and was the *Trojan* of that State. In his Reign both Arms and Arts flourished. Himself greatly improved Music and Poetry ; he composed a great Variety of Divine Hymns or Psalms, set to different Instruments ; all which manifested an extensive Genius, both for Poetry and War. His Heroism and Bravery in the Field, and the Purity and Elegance of his Taste in private Life, would beget a Spirit of Imitation in his People, who would naturally form themselves in Emulation of the Royal Pattern, to cultivate the like Sentiments. Accordingly, his Court was attended with a Number of great Officers eminent for all Military Virtues ; and, we may suppose, not destitute of others of like Eminency in Arts and Sciences. The *Sidonians* and *Tyrians* were indeed more famous at that Time, for their Proficiency in some Arts, particularly Architecture ; which might be owing to their Situation, so near *Lebanon* on one Side, and the Sea on the other. But there is no Intimation of their Eminency in any other Arts, prior to this Reign. Whereas *Letter-Writing* was now in its Perfection not only for Art, but most portable Materials in that imperial Shepherd's Court, as appeareth by the Letter sent to the General, by the brave, but unfortunate *Uriah's* Hand, 2 *Sam.* xi. 14.

Now as *David's* victorious Reign made the *Hebrew* Nation Great and Wealthy, so the *Polite* Reign of *Solomon* rendered it the most considerable Nation in the World, for the most ample and conspicuous Improvements in all Arts and Sciences.

Solomon was a Prince of singular and extraordinary Capacity, transcending all his Predecessors, or Contemporaries, for Sagacity and Penetration. He was an universal Genius, which equally qualified him for the Perfection of Government in the Judgment-Seat, the greatest Royal Order and Oeconomy in his Palace, his Officers and his Works ; and for the noblest Philosophical Disquisitions, or Poetical Elegancies, 1 *Kings* iv. 29, to the End of the Chapter. He had the most grand, as well as the most elegant Taste, in Architecture, Sculpture, Music, Gardening, and even Agriculture, *Eccles.* ii. And then his immense Treasures gathered by the extensive Conquests of his Heroic Father, and his own vast Enlargements of Commerce, enabled him to indulge the full Scope of his own amazing Genius, in polishing and improving his People, adorning his Capital, and filling his Land with every Embellishment, which such extraordinary Abilities could inspire.

Now it is very natural to suppose, that the Fame of his Magnificence, Grandeur and Wisdom, might induce Strangers of Curiosity from all Parts, to

to resort to that magnificent and polite Court; especially in a Season of such profound Peace, as the whole Reign of *Solomon* was. But this is not only Supposition, for the sacred Historian expressly relateth it so, *1 Kings* iv. 34. *And there came of all People to hear the Wisdom of Solomon, from all Kings of the Earth, which had heard of his Wisdom.* And that this Fame of his Wisdom and his magnificent Works, was celebrated in remote Nations, further appeareth from the Visit which the Queen of *Sheba* herself made to him. We see it did not only excite inquisitive Men of obscure Character, but even Persons of the greatest Rank and Distinction, to see whether his real Grandeur and Wisdom were equal to the high Encomiums which common Fame had given them, *2 Kings* x. 1. She particularly came to try him with hard Questions; from which it is evident, that his Wisdom was singularly the Matter of general Observation. And a Memorial of this Curiosity of other Princes, is preserved among the *Tyrian* Antiquities; for the King of *Tyre* sent hard Questions to *Solomon*, as *Josephus* says.* Now it is most reasonable to think that the *Arts* and *Sciences*, which were especially relative to each other, would be particularly studied at this Time, by every curious Foreigner, who resorted to *Jerusalem*; and that Multitudes would now carry Home with them *Letters* and *Writing*, from this General School of all polite Knowledge, the Court and Capital of *Solomon*; who might not have regarded this Art, while it was only the Distinction of an obscure People. So that it appeareth to me most probable, on the whole, that it was not till about the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, that this noble Art of *Writing* passed from the Hands of the *Hebrews* to the *Pagan* World. And accordingly, as we have brought it down in the Story of the *Israelites*, that it could not be much sooner than this Age. So I hope, by tracing the *Heathen* Story in Synchronisms upwards, from the two famous Contemporaries, *Leonidas* and *Xerxes*, to be able to prove that all genuine *Pagan* History, actually starts from this very Age; or, in general, something later. And that this Tradition was sooner or later, according to the nearer or more remote Situation from *Judaea*, of the several Countries where Letters first appeared. Thus *Phœnicia*, the *Arabians*, and *Egypt* would naturally be the first; and *Chaldea*, or *Assyria*, something later in the Knowledge of *Letters*, which Art being the Parent of all Improvements, these *Eastern* Nations might be behind them in *Astronomy* and *Philosophy*, and perhaps even in *Ambition*, *Policy* and *War*.

Here we may justly admire the singular Providence of God, which thus made Way for the Propagation of Knowledge over all the Earth. *David* was God's chosen Instrument, for extending the *Hebrew* State to its greatest Dimensions. And then, at a Time when the Nation was in the greatest Extent of Power and Territory, and reached to, and verged upon, so many different Countries; so that more Notice would be taken of what passed in

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that

* *Joseph. contr. Ap. Lib. I.*

that potent State:—Then (I say) *Solomon* was raised up, and endued with such extraordinary Talents, by God himself, to be the Instrument of this greatest Benefit to Mankind. This Prince's conspicuous and superlative Wisdom drew the Attention of the World; and their Curiosity led them into that flourishing Country, where they might, among other entertaining Things, have an ample Opportunity of gaining a full Knowledge of *Letters*, or Alphabetical *Writing*. This was discovered by *Divine Revelation* at first. But as the *Hebrew* Nation had not been before significant enough to engage Men to much Attention to their Arts or Knowledge, God, in his Providence, thought fit to raise up these two great successive Princes into such a conspicuous Point of Light, to be the Means of rendering the Knowledge of *Letters* more general, and thereby of humanizing and improving all Nations in the most useful Sciences.

C H A P. VI.

On ancient Authors.

HAVING now fully considered this material Point, of the Antiquity and Origin of *Writing*, and (I hope) made it appear greatly *probable* that it was an Art imparted in an extraordinary Way, by the Almighty, to the *Hebrew* Lawgiver *Moses*, whose Age is well known. And also, that its Traduction from the *Hebrews* to other Nations could not be much before the Times of *David* and *Solomon*.—I shall next proceed to consider and examine the most ancient Books, or other Monuments, of which any Mention is made by the greatest Sages of Antiquity.—But, before I enter upon the particular Examination of those Records which are pretended to have been wrote in the most ancient Times, and which are alledged as the *Basis*, on which the primitive Pagan History now standeth, it will be useful to lay down some general Rules of fair and candid *Critique*, by which we may be enabled to judge of the Authenticity and Credibility of any Pieces of Antiquity:

All Authors, according to the Subjects of which they treat, must be judged of, as to their real *Value*, in a different Manner. Authors of *Speculation* are esteemed for their *Sentiments*, and the Arguments they produce, in Support of their Opinions. We need not be very inquisitive in what Age a demonstrative Author lived, or from whom he borrowed his Sentiments; if his Arguments convince our Judgments, Truth is not further concerned. Authorities being of small Weight, if they are only human. If the Arguments do not convince, whatever Knowledge of, or Veneration for, the Writer we may have, yet the greatest Name should not supply the Place of a *deficient* Argument; nor should Obscurity prejudice a *good* One.—In Compositions of *Wit* and Genius, there is more of *Taste* indulged. But, if the Representa-

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tions are natural, the Images lively, if Similes are really like, if the Painting is just, tho' it may be more or less bold and daring, according to the Nature and Sublimity of the Subject; such Pieces are generally valued, tho' they may have different Admirers, according to the Similarity of Taste and Genius.—But Writers of *History* are principally esteemed, for the *Truth* of their Relations, whatever Difference there may be in the Dignity and Elegance of the Narrative; or the Reflexions, Moral or Political, which they may make on their Story. Thus plain *Annals*, tho' without Ornament, are always in high Estimation, if they are supposed to be *faithful* as to Facts.

S E C T. I.

On the Distinction of Historians, into Contemporary, and others, who write of past Affairs.

HISTORY being that Species of *Writing* that we have now under Consideration principally;—I would observe that Historians are distinguishable into two Classes. (1.) Those who write of Transactions *distant* in Time and Country from their *Own*. (2.) Those who record the Transactions of their own Age and Country; which are commonly called Contemporary Writers.

I. Historians who relate Affairs of Times *past* long *before* their own Age; or of Countries remote from their own Abode, should be candidly examined by standard Rules of fair Criticism. But I think these have been too little attended to, especially in our reading the Ancients. We are fond of any Fragment if we think it Old, and are apt to doat unnaturally enough, on the faded, broken *Remnant* of a Countenance which we imagine was a *Beauty* two or three thousand Years ago. If it were not for this Foible, there could never be such a Stir about the Scraps of *Berosus*, or *Manetho*, or *Sanchoniathon*; for the Things, which they relate, *cannot*, in the Nature of Things, be admitted for *Truths*. There cannot be an *Aurea Vetustas* in what are visibly but old Fables.

S E C T. II.

Critical Rules for judging of the Credibility of ancient Authors.

NOW the Rules of just Criticism, for the Examination of the Credibility of ancient Authors are, (1.) We must enquire what Opportunities for *Intelligence* an ancient Author professeth or appeareth to have had.

2. What Evidences, or favourable Presumptions, we have of his Judgment and *Integrity*.

3. The

3. The natural *Probability* of the Things he relateth.
4. His Agreement with other *ancient* Writers nearest to his own Age.

RULE I. On the Intelligence the Author had, of which there are three Kinds. First, Tradition by Word of Mouth. Secondly, Written Records. Thirdly, Revelation.

I. We must enquire what Opportunities for *Intelligence* an ancient Author professeth, or appeareth, to have had. And, if he writes of Affairs long *before* his own Age, we can conceive of no Means of Information, but some of these following. Either (1.) From *Tradition* and Report in the Oral Way of Conveyance thro' successive Generations. Or, (2.) *Written* Records and Memoirs of those elder Times. Or (3.) Extraordinary *Revelation* from God.

As to the first; if an ancient Author either professeth, or appeareth, to have derived his Informations from current *Tradition*, thro' successive Generations, in the Oral Way of Conveyance; that the Facts, which he relateth, are the common *Stories* among the People, or that this is the Account of their past Affairs, given by the Men of *best Sense* and Understanding in the Place:—'Tis a natural Piece of Criticism here to enquire, at what *Distance* from the Time of Writing the History, the Facts were said to have been done. The learned Dean *Sykes* observes: "If many Years intervene betwixt an extraordinary Fact and the Relation, there may be in general probable Grounds to suspect Addition, or Subtraction, or Alteration of Circumstances, which every Man, however honest, may be liable to make."* If the Facts were done *half a Century* before the Writing them down from these Traditions, we may, however, ascribe pretty good Authority to those Traditions. If they were *a Century* before, they will become considerably more *dubious*, for most of the Eye-witnesses will be dead. But, if the Transactions, related in this History, solely extracted from Tradition, should have been three, or four, or five hundred, or a thousand Years *before* the Writing them, the Traditions would become very precarious, and the Evidence would almost languish into a State of Evanescence, in the present Age of human Life. An Author therefore, professing to derive his Relations from current *Tradition*, concerning Times at any *great Distance*, much more at so great a One, must leave great Scope for *Hesitation* and Scepticism, in our Assent to his Testimony. Here, if the Author inserts a Chronology or Genealogy, or both, from the Times of which he writes, down to his own Days; this Point will be more easy to examine.

If (*secondly*) an Author professeth to extract his History from *Written* Records, either from Archives of Cities, from sacred Memoirs of Temples, from public Columns, from monumental Inscriptions, or from ancient Books of History; yet many Enquiries concerning these several Originals rationally arise.

* *Sykes's Discourse on Miracles*, p. 59.

arise.—(1.) If these Originals were pretended to be drawn up, in any Kind of Records or Inscriptions, before the Discovery of *Writing*, these may be justly rejected as Forgery, without further Examination. These pretended Memoirs either *never* were in Being, or they were not Contemporary with the Actions they record, but made out of dubious Traditions *afterwards*. So I shall conclude concerning any Original Memoirs of *Ninus*, supposed to be written *before* the Times of *Moses*, that there were no such *written* Memoirs, unless they were much later Extracts from broken Traditions; this, I say, I conclude from what I have already advanced, on the Origin of Writing, till I see Reason to question that Point.

(2.) But again, a second Enquiry here ariseth, though some Things were really set down in some Kind of Characters, as particularly Astronomical Ones, (for I am persuaded not in Alphabetical Letters) yet can we think that they were in Being so *early* as some alledge? Could there be Original Astronomical Observations of 1903 Years old, preserved legible in any Sort of Materials, when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, as *Simplicius* * says that *Porphyry* asserted concerning *Callisthenes's* sending to *Aristotle*?

(3.) Again, thirdly, Could the Author, who pretends to extract from them, have any Opportunity of *seeing* those Original Memoirs? Could *Ctesias* have any Opportunity of seeing and perusing the ancient *Assyrian* Records? He lived, while in the *East*, chiefly in or near the *Persian* Court, whose Residence was very remote from these ancient Palaces and Temples, which were most like to be the Repositories of them; but which, at that Time, were in utter Ruins. And, if it be said, that these ancient Monuments were transcribed, and hereby Copies of them remained, I say they lessen much in their Authority, as being but Copies. And as no other Author but *Ctesias* is said to have perused either the Originals or the Copies, or to have extracted any Thing from them, it is reasonable enough to conclude, they were all his own Invention.

RULE II. We must enquire into the Evidences of the Author's Integrity.

II. Another Rule of Criticism in judging of an ancient Book, is to enquire what Evidence or favourable Presumptions we have of the Author's *Judgment* and *Integrity*. An Historian's Honesty is as necessary to be considered as his Ability; his Inclination to declare the Truth, as his Opportunities of knowing it.† And in this Enquiry, if we discern no visible Interest which the Author appeareth to have had, either in disguising or concealing Truth; no sensible Benefit that could accrue to him in flattering one Party, or defaming another: If we can observe no Bias of Party or *Affection* any more than *Interest* upon him. And if, on the contrary, he sets down as freely the Faults of

* *Simplic. de Cælo. Lib. II. com. 46.*

† *Duo in Historico requiruntur, & posse & velle de rebus verè scribere. H. Steph. de Ctesia.*

of his *own* People as those of *other* Nations, and describes many of their secret Crimes which were not probably much known, and so acts even against the Bias of these National Partialities; we can have no great Reason to doubt of his Integrity, if we have satisfactory Evidence of his Informations and Knowledge. Again; when an ancient Author is always *consistent* with himself, this addeth to our Opinion of his Integrity. This is not, indeed, an infallible Proof, since a Man may with Care make a consistent Fable. He may make his Hero at the first larger than the Life, and ever after, represent him as acting in that Proportion. However, an Author's being always consistent, is a great Circumstance in his Favour.

RULE III. We must canvass the Probability of the Things related.

III. Another Branch of genuine and just Critique is to canvass the natural *Probability* of the Things related; whether it be likely, in the Nature of Things, that Events might happen, at the Time and Place when they are said to have happened, agreeable to this ancient Relation? And, in this Case again, if the Author gives us a pretty regular Geography, and a Chronology upwards, from the Times of which he writeth, to the beginning or new Plantation of the World by One Family; this will enable us to be more correct in this Way of examining his Credibility.

Under this Head of *Criticism*, there are several principal Circumstances that require our Attention. We must consider the *Time* of the Action, or the Age of the World *when* the Event happened. The *Place* or Scene of Action *where* it happened. The *Persons acting*, whether they are tolerably in Character, or not; and whether the whole Narrative correspond to the probable Manners of the *Country*, as well as *Age*?—Near the Beginning of the World there must have been greater *Simplicity* of Manners; less Luxury, Grandeur and Pomp. There could have been no Shame to the *greatest* in tilling the Ground or tending Flocks; nor could any Office really *useful* be soon sunk into Dishonour, under the Notion of its being *servile* or mechanic. For there must then have been a greater *Parity* among Mankind. *Noah* and his Sons were equal in Rank, and differed but as Parents and Children now do, by the Parental Relation. Brothers were equal in Rank, and differed little but in personal Qualities. There could not be great Empires, potent Armies, or great Wars, when the Earth was so thinly peopled, and so little cultivated, as it must necessarily have been, soon after the General Deluge. And yet, as human Passions have been, probably, near the same in all Ages, so there might be the early Workings of Ambition and Avarice, Emulation and Resentment, and other Passions, to interrupt the Felicity of the World betimes. If an Historian writing of the Affairs of the fourth or fifth Century of the new World, according to his own Computations, should represent Mankind as then associating into Communities and Tribes; and even then
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many of them collected into little Kingdoms and States, united under different Kings and Rulers; if those Kingdoms were represented as *little Ones*, confined within the narrow Limits of a small Territory, as the Cities and Kingdoms of the Plain of *Sodom*; this is credible, according to the then probable Circumstances of the growing World. If such an ancient Historian should represent these little Infant States and Societies as falling into Emulations and Wars with those who were in Vicinity to them; this is also credible, that there should be Ambition, or Avarice, or Emulation, then as well as now. And, if he represents them bringing their Armies into the Field, provided he says they were *small Ones*, or relates any Circumstance which intimates them to have been *such*, all this may be highly credible in itself. As in *Abraham's* defeating the Confederate *Eastern* Armies which came against *Sodom*, with 318 Men, [*Gen. xiv. 14, 15.*] only with the Advantages of a Night Attack, in a Country which he knew better than they probably did, and after the Fatigue of a Battle.—Now, tho' *Moses* says nothing of the Army of *Elam*, yet he relates two Circumstances, which demonstrate it not to have been great, *viz.* (1.) This of *Abraham's* defeating it with 318 Men. And (2.) the Kings of the Plain venturing to come into the Field against them. For 1000 would never have come out against 10,000, but would have compromised so unequal a Combat on the best Terms they could, before it came to the Extremity of Action.

But if another Historian, writing of the same Age of the World, should represent the Armies, as some think, of the *same Country*, consisting of several Millions of Men, marching with hostile Violence thro' vast Tracts of Country, as *Ctesias* in his Accounts of the Wars of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, *Ningas*, and their fabled Multitudes; this History carrieth its own Confutation in itself, it is entirely unsynchronal to the Course of Nature, and smelleth of more recent and populous Ages. Now both these Authors relate Things concerning the same Age, with this notorious Difference as to Numbers; and *which* is to be rejected, is to be found out by this kind of Criticism. For the Probability of *Moses's* Account is supported by its being so synchronal to the Age; and the Forgery of *Ctesias* may be made out by natural Chronology; for it was impossible that there should have been so many Men to spare for War, in any one Country, in that Age.

Again; there must be a natural Probability as to the *Place* or Scene of Action, that the Events related may be congruous to the *Climate* and Country. For a palpable Incongruity here, may sometimes detect a Forgery, not otherwise easily discovered. Thus, had the *Israelites*, in their March from *Egypt* thro' the Desarts of *Arabia*, been represented to have been harrassed with perpetual Rains, Frosts, or Snows; had the Inconveniencies of *Lapland* been transferred to *Arabia*, and this represented to be in the common Course of Nature, without any Miracle making this unnatural Change; this might throw some Discredit on the whole Narrative.—Again; if Armies, suppose

in *Britain*, should be represented by some ancient Author, to be incommoded by Lyons, Tygers, Crocodiles, Elephants, and Serpents; in Places where no such fierce or noxious Animals are ordinarily known; this is a Sort of Antiquity to be confuted by Geography and Natural History. For Nature doth not change much; it has been hotter in *Persia* or *India*, than in *Germany* or *Britain*, ever since the Flood. And some Animals, as well as Plants, have always been the natural Growth of some Countries and Climates, and rarely found in others.—Persons acting in Character, and according to the Simplicity or Grandeur, which are the probable Manners of the Age and Place, is another Thing that furnisheth the natural Marks of Authenticity to the Piece. Thus, to hear of the Virgin *Daughters* of good Families attending Flocks, or drawing Water for any domestic Uses, doth not any way shock us, as to those Ages of Simplicity. As, in the Cases of *Rebecca* and *Rachel*, this was all Natural at that Time, when the World was so much a Stranger to Delicacy and Pomp. Again; the Delicacy and Softness of the *Persian* Court in *Abasuerus's* Time is credible in the same View, as being agreeable to the luxurious Manners of the Age.—But if the Magnificence and Delicacy of these modern Times should be ascribed to the Courts of *Ninus* or *Semiramis*, Nature confuteth the Relation, and these unsynchronal Manners demonstrate, either that those Princes lived not in that Age, or that those Facts were Forgeries.

Again; Actions should, in the main, correspond to the *moral Characters* of the Actors. One, who is represented as an eminently Good Man, should in the general Tenour of Life be agreeable thereto. Yet, if we find several remarkable Failings intermixed, this is but as we humbly find human Virtue generally is, even imperfect. *Noah's* Drunkenness, *Abram's* denying his Wife, Partiality to Children, as in *Isaac* and *Rebekah*, an interested supplanting others, as in *Jacob*; Rashness in young Men, tho' of serious Education, as *Simeon* and *Levi*; the insuperable Force of Envy, as in *Joseph's* Brethren.—All these Evils are very credible; since we find, in all Ages, that Virtue, in the fairest Characters we know, is but an imperfect Thing. And then the impartial Relation of them throweth an Air of Sincerity over the whole Narrative. All these natural Circumstances uniting in the same History, conspire to recommend it to our Veneration, as greatly credible. But, when they are any of them wanting, we are hereby led into great Suspicions of the Genuineness and Authenticity of such patched, self-inconsistent and incongruous Compositions.

RULE IV. We must compare him with other ancient Authors.

IV. Another Method of judging of an ancient Author, is *comparing* him with other Writings of greatest *Antiquity*, or that are nearest to his own Age. It may be frequently observed, when several Writers treat on the same Subject,

ject, that one Fact shall be related concisely by one Author, which shall be more diffusely handled by another. Some Things omitted by one, which shall be inserted in another, and the same Facts related with several different Circumstances, by different Historians. Here all the former Rules must be applied in judging of these different Writers, to determine which Relation has the most genuine Marks of Probability.—But, if there be no *contemporary* Writers, or that wrote near the same Age, then the Credibility of any Book must be gathered, as it were, from itself; by considering its internal Marks of Truth, and by Application of all the Rules of Criticism above-mentioned, to enable us to pass a Judgment of its true Worth.

I would here further note, that, if there be but *one* Original Writer mentioned, to whom any succeeding Author referreth, tho' *many* afterwards relate the same Stories over again, yet this addeth little to the *Authority*, or properly to the *Number* of ancient Writers on that Subject. Thus, if *Livy*, *Dionysius*, *Hallicarnassensis*, and Twenty more *Roman* Historians, all relate the Origin of *Rome*, in the same Manner, or with the same principal Circumstances. And these several Relations are the *same*, which were found in *Fabius Pictor*, the first Writer of *Roman Antiquity*. It is but *Pictor's* Authority, on which all depends, tho' copied, in different Ages, an hundred Times over. If the succeeding Historians mention not the Authorities which *Fabius Pictor* made use of, to confirm his own Reports, if they refer to no old Annals, or Inscriptions of Statues or Columns, or National Treaties, additional to those which *Fabius* had mentioned, to confirm, illustrate or authenticate their Story; we may justly presume that they all, so far as they agree with *Fabius*, build upon his Authority. And he was far enough from being a competent Witness as to the *Primordia* of *Rome*; for he was a Contemporary of *Hannibal*, and an Officer in the second *Punic* War, and lived in the sixth Century from the Building of the City, according to their Computations.* Now, 'tis certain that there were several other Authorities, which neither *Fabius Pictor*, nor any of his Followers had made use of; as is plain, because they relate several Particulars contrary to them. As the famous Treaty with *Porfenna*, which *Pliny* frankly owneth, in his *Natural History*, *Lib. 34. C. 14.* and which *Tacitus* also confesseth. "We find, says *Pliny*, † in the Treaty which *Porfenna* granted to the *Roman* People, an express Stipulation, that they should not make use of Iron, except in tilling the Ground." And *Tacitus* owns that the City was surrendered to *Porfenna*. For this Historian, bewailing the Burning of the Capitol, which *Vitellius's* Party had set on Fire, when they besieged *Sabinus*, the Brother of *Vespasian*, who had thrown himself into it, adds, "That the *Romans* had

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* *Voss. de Historic. Latin. Lib. I. c. 3.*

† "In Foedere quod, expulsis Regibus, populo Romano dedit *Porfenna*, nominatim comprehensum invenimus, ne Ferro nisi in Agriculturâ uterentur." *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 34. c. 14.*

“not suffered so great a Disaster, either when *Rome* was SURRENDERED to *Porfenna*, or when it was Taken by the *Gauls*.”* So that those Authors, who cite no other Authorities, may be justly alledged to write from the Authority of *Fabius* alone, in the Points in which they follow him.—So again; if a great Number of Writers agree in the same Account, as to the Rise and Fall of the *Assyrian* Empire, and the Age and Manner of each Event, and yet all of them copy *Ctesias*, 'tis but properly that One Author, on whose Credit all these Accounts of different Writers depend. It is therefore not reasonable to boast of so many ancient Authors in Favour of these Accounts of the Antiquity of the *Assyrian* Monarchy; for, tho' *Diodorus Siculus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and many others after them, agreed in the same Accounts, yet all followed either them, or this *Cnidian* Physician. This reduceth the Testimonies of this *Assyrian* Antiquity to a small Number, even to One, i. e. *Ctesias*. Though there might be such a Number of Copiers, who implicitly relied on *Ctesias*'s Report. And one cannot but allow that this implicit following him was the more culpable, as they then had *Herodotus*, who gave a very different Report. But it was most culpable in *Eusebius*, who had Access to the Old Testament Scriptures, further to clear History from the Embarrassments of this fabulous Writer. So that again there can be no Reason to complain of a Spirit of Novelty, or of rejecting so many ancient Authors; since, probably, there are as many Ancients against as for this *Assyrian* Antiquity.

S E C T. III.

On Intelligence by Revelation.

THE third and last Way of attaining to the Knowledge of Things past, is that of Revelation from GOD. This is the most perfect Information of any, whenever he will please to vouchsafe it. And, if we have competent Evidence that such a Revelation has been vouchsafed, viz. The very best Evidence that the Nature of the Thing is capable of, were it ever so true; we ought to embrace it with the highest Veneration.—There are not indeed many Writers who have pretended to this high Authority, especially Historians, as to their Intelligence concerning past Facts, except the Poets, who were to be, in every Thing, instructed by the *Muses*. Tho' it must be owned, that some Legislators have boasted of a Derivation of their Institutions from the Gods, to give their Laws a greater Weight with the People.† Thus *Minos* pretended to have received his System of Institutions from

* “Sedem Jovis Opt. max. auspicio e Majoribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porfenna Dedita Urbe, neque Galli captâ, temerare potuissent, furore Principum excindi.” *Tacit. Histor. Lib. 3. c. 72.*

† Vid. *Sykes* against *Warb.*

from *Jupiter*, *Triptolemus* from *Ceres*, *Lycurgus* the *Spartan* from *Apollo*; and *Numa* from the Nymph *Egeria*, with whom he had nocturnal Intercourses; and others derived their Directions or Commands from different Oracles. Yet, as *Moses* was the *first* Writer, who made this high Claim to our Attention, so he was the *first* who supported his Authority by *Miracles*. There are several Characters of Credibility, especially this grand Criterion of *Miracles*, which when they unite, amount to satisfactory Evidence of a Divine Revelation, or extraordinary Conveyance.

(1.) When Matters are punctually related in the historic Way, which no Man could possibly know from any human Information. Such as the Creation of the World and the Progress of it; the Creating the first Parents of the human Race, and other Events accomplished before there was one Man in Being. All these Facts must either come immediately from God, or by Information from other Spiritual Beings, who were in Existence before Mankind, or were commissioned from God to inform Man of it. Strictly Speaking, an human History of the Creation is impossible, and therefore just the same, whether it be supposed to come by Tradition from *Adam*, or to be compiled by *Moses* by supernatural Intelligence; for *Adam* must have had it in the same Way.

(2.) When the Things that are related are the most Noble and Important, of the greatest Consequence to Mankind, and the Knowledge whereof may be of greatest Advantage to them. It may appear to us worthy of the Father of Mercies, to impart to us in an extraordinary Way the clear Knowledge of those momentous Events, which are by any Means become obscure.

(3.) If the Distance from the Time of those primitive Facts is great, and such Changes have happened in the World by the shortening of Man's Life, that the Knowledge of those Things, tho' so necessary to be had, is become very difficult to be procured, about the Time when such Revelation is said to be made. The Necessity of the Case may induce us to hope, from the Benignity of God, that he may afford such necessary Intelligence. And this may dispose us more to give Credit to that Person who professeth to have received this seasonable Information from on high.

(4.) When a Writer describes those ante-human Transactions as distinctly, as those which he was an Eye-witness of. As when *Moses* speaketh as distinctly of the Creation, as of the passing the Red Sea. And when he speaks most rationally of it, ascribing all the grand Operation to the omnipotent Wisdom of God, the only Cause it can be ascribed to with any good Sense. This masterly Manner of relating this primitive Work, may incline us to reverence his Pretensions.

(5.) When the Things, which he relateth in this more than human Way, are not only the most useful to be known, but when the Narrative is interspersed with no Trifles, or Puerilities, to render it contemptible; nor any incidental

cidental Recommendation of any Thing which would nourish Immorality or Superstition: It is still more likely to come from God.

6. If this divine Historian has the Power of working *Miracles*, in Support of the Credit of his History. If he be enabled to perform most astonishing, most open and visible, numerous and uncontrollable Miracles; and to *renew** them before *any* Witnesses, at *any* Time, whenever *new* Circumstances make them expedient or necessary. This is such a Testimony of the extraordinary Presence of God with him, who is absolutely able to controll any other superior Beings, who may attempt to counterfeit his own great Seal, that we may reasonably entertain all that the Author professeth to bring from God, under these Credentials, to be of Divine Authority. And *Moses* was an Author, who was singularly accompanied with this Power of working what must be most properly called *Miracles*. For the Wonders which happened, were not done at unawares to him, but he declared before he did them, what he expected; so that he intended, by the Power of God, to do such wonderful Things. They were Acts capable of being *judged* of by the *Senses*, that they were really done, and that they were entirely out of the ordinary Path of Nature and common Providence, and above the Power or Art of Man to perform, as all the Witnesses might judge. And these Miracles were wrought before *Witnesses* of a very different Character and Interest, and yet at last they overcame the Obstinacy of both. They were wrought before one Nation which boasted of the greatest Learning in that Age; but prejudiced to the most inveterate Degree, in Favour of their own National Superstitions. And yet, at last, the whole Nation were so far convinced of the extraordinary Power of *JEHOVAH*, the God of *Israel*, above their own Gods, that they hastened the Departure of the *Hebrew* Nation from among them; both Prince and People united in urging their Departure, *Exod. xii. 30, 31, 32, 33*. And this was out of Fear of *their* God, they said, *We are all dead Men*. They were wrought before another People, tho' in their own Behalf, who were the most *free thinking*, as some affect to call it, the most incredulous and most thoroughly scrupulous and difficult of Belief, that perhaps ever was in the World, I mean the *Israelites*. Methinks the most cautious and suspicious Unbeliever among us, need not be ashamed of his great Forerunners in Incredulity, the *Hebrew* Nation coming from *Egypt*. They first cavilled with *Moses*, on the new Severities which *Pharaoh's* Task-masters imposed, as if they had profanely questioned either God's Truth or Power to deliver them, that he *would*, or that he *could* do it, *Exod. v. 20, 21*. They doubted in every new Difficulty, *Exod. xiv. 11, 12*. Thus in the Language of insolent Infidelity, they cry, *Is it because there were no Graves in Egypt, that thou hast brought us out to die in the Wilderness?* When there was either a Deficiency of Water or Bread, tho' they had seen the miraculous Deliverance at the

* *Dr. Sykes on Miracles*, p. 47. *Dr. Leland against Morgan*. *Dr. Chapman against the same Moral Phil.*

the Red Sea, yet they murmured on the first new Distress, with great Indecency of Language, *Exod. xvi. 2, 3. Would God we had died by the Hand of the Lord in Egypt!* They never seem willing to own God's Hand, but ascribe all their Calamities to *Moses*. But their *Murmurings* were against the Lord, *Exod. xvi. 7.* These were repeated at *Rephidim*, *Exod. xvii. 3.* with like Incredulity and Indecency. They, in short, doubted in every Difficulty, and questioned every Regulation, and seemed to be as jealous of being imposed on, as the most sagacious Unbeliever in any Age could possibly be, with all his supposed and applauded Vigilance. They cavilled with, and struggled against almost every Regulation of *Moses*, as if it had been a criminal Encroachment upon their Liberties; tho' he was perpetually supported by *Miracles*, which they could neither imitate nor deny. *Corah* and his Party contested the Civil Regulations as well as the Sacerdotal Ones. *Dathan* being of the House of *Reuben*, forgot not, we may be sure, the pretended Rights of Primogeniture. *Dathan* and *Abiram* were both *Reubenites*, and joining with *Corah*, who was a *Levite*, they made a strong Party in Opposition to what they insinuated to be the personal Usurpations of *Moses* and *Aaron*. This is copiously related, *Numb. xvi. 3, — 13.* They were, when most awfully convinced, yet perpetually relapsing into most obstinate and perverse *Scepticism*, and into that Disobedience which Infidelity inspired. And what could it be but gross, unjustifiable *Scepticism*, when there were no *Miracles* pretended in Opposition to *Moses*, and his, one would think, were too conspicuous to be *denied*?—However, all this inveterate Obstinacy was overcome, and by Dint of Evidence arising from the uncontrollable visible *Miracles*, they were at last adduced to as great a Veneration for *Moses*, as ever was paid to any Writer, or any Man; and this continued as long as any of that Generation remained in the World; which saw the Series of his *Miracles*. And this greatest Esteem and Veneration for *Moses* continued among the whole Nation afterwards; tho' his Writings are so full of the severest Censures of their Ancestors Conduct, and record their Infamy to all Generations.*—When all these Circumstances unite, especially when accompanied with *Miracles*, we may justly reverence a Work thus recommended, as drawn up by Divine *Revelation*. Such an Historian *Moses* was, and entirely without a Rival, among all the Monuments of ancient or modern Paganism.

I shall add little concerning the second Class of Historians, those, who relate the Affairs of their own Age and Country, or *contemporary* Historians. Little can be questioned concerning these, except their Integrity. And this may be judged of, by considering the Probabilities of the Things they relate, and comparing them with other contemporary Writers, and examining into any Bias of Inclination or Interest they may be influenced by.

CHAP.

* Vid. *Shuckf. Con. Vol. III.*

C H A P. VII.

On ancient Pagan Writers compared with Moses.

HAVING premised these few Rules of candid and fair Criticism, which may be justly required to be observed, in our judging of any Piece of very high Antiquity, our next Step must be to examine any such Pieces of this kind of Antiquity by the Application of these Critical Rules, not only the ancient Monuments of *Paganism*, but *Moses* himself; and compare them with *Moses*, who appears to me the proper Father of History.— But here I acknowledge I am much at a Loss to fix on any thing properly *ancient* in profane History, for this Kind of Examination and Comparison.— We certainly have not any ancient *Records* of any Nation under Heaven, which could be drawn up about the *Time* when the primitive Facts were done; for no *Materials* would last so long. Nor have we any *Pagan* Author who professeth to extract from them, who can be properly called ancient, in Comparison with *Moses*. For he wrote above five hundred Years before the eldest, even if *Sanchoiathon* be admitted to be genuine; and a thousand Years before any other, *Herodotus* and *Ctesias*, and longer still before *Berosus* and *Manetho*.—But, as some of these Authors pretend to ancient Records, which they had either seen, or been told of; I would attempt, from the very Facts which they relate, out of those Records, to prove that there were *not*, and that there *could not be*, any such genuine Records, that could be contemporary with the Actions, or wrote down at the *Time*, when the Events happened, even according to their own Chronology. Thus the Length and Number of the Reigns in the indolent *Assyrian* Succession, which is *Ctesias's* Chronology, is incredible. And then the Armies of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* cannot be synchronal to *Moses's* Chronology. They must be rejected for their Numbers being so *great*, when the World was so *young*.

However, as they might have some Hints of their oldest Transactions, from some very ancient Traditions, or from some of their very oldest Writings, from which they might copy, or extract the Relations, which they pretend to set down from them. (1.) We shall compare the *Pagan Theogonies*, which are best known, with *Moses's* Account of the Generation, or the Origin of Things, in the first Chapters of *Genesis*. (2.) We shall compare the most ancient *Pagan* Writers of *common* History, with *Moses*, in this *Respect*, and consider which is the most natural and credible; as far as may be judged by Circumstances in each.

S E C T. I.

On the Pagan Cosmogonies.

WE shall consider the *Theogonies* of *Paganism*, which are the most noted, and best known, and compare them with the Account which *Moses* giveth of the *Creation*, or Origin of Things, in the first Chapters of *Genesis*. This will make my Way something more easy, in these embarrassed, intricate Paths of such unfrequented, remote Antiquity. In this Road of ancient Fable, which the Foot of an elegant Traveller has but seldom trod in these latter Ages, one can scarce get forward, without keeping *Moses* in our Eye.

S E C T. II.

The Theogonies sprung from a twofold Source; from their own Traditions, and from some Hints of Moses's History of the Creation.

BUT yet I apprehend these old fabulous Accounts may be owing to, or spring from, a twofold Source.—*First*, Some Remnants of very ancient, shattered *Traditions*, descending from the Time of the Dispersion. And, *secondly*, From some Hints that were picked up and borrowed, tho' very injudiciously put together, from the Works of *Moses*; which some way happened to come to the Knowledge of those Countries, in which these *Cosmogonies* prevailed.

First, I doubt not but there might have been some very faint, mishapen Traditions of the primitive *Cosmogony*, or the *Creation*, which they called the *Generation of the World*; but generally, much more absurdly, the *Theogony*, or *Generation of the Gods*. But yet, as the Art of *Writing* came into the World so long after the Dispersion, from which Time they might probably be gradually deviating from Truth, in all their Traditions of Primitive Facts; as, I say, it was so many Years before *Letters* came into the World, and so many more, before this Art arrived at those Nations, who have any *Theogonies* prevailing among them; it is very reasonable to conclude, that all their Traditions must have become very absurd and incoherent Things; and, when their ancient Traditions degenerated into Fables, they would insensibly become obscure and unintelligible.—And again; these fabulous Accounts of the Origin of Things would be gradually advancing in progressive Absurdities,

ties, under the Increase of such a corrupt *Theology* as *Polytheism*. When once they came to believe many Gods, they must sink from their exalted Notions of Deity, which had prevailed as long as they embraced the Notion of the Divine Unity. If there were *many* Gods, then one might be greater, another less, in various Degrees of Subordination, or Precedency. And then again, as this *Theogony* (or Generation of the Gods) would seem credible, as to this Descent of the subordinate Divinities, so no Wonder that all these gross Absurdities and Incongruities multiplied in their vain and daily Fictions.

Secondly, Besides their own National Traditions, which (before any Writers of *Theogonies* lived) would be degenerated into obscure, mysterious Fables; I cannot but think that there might have been some Hints of the *Mosaic* History of the Creation arrived among them. These Hints they also compounded and mixed up with their own blind and fabulous Traditions; out of all which they composed that disfigured Story, which they called a *Theogony*, or *Generation of the Gods*; according to their corrupt Notions of *Polytheism*.

Moses began his History with an Account of the *Creation of the World*, according to his own noble Plan of true *Theism*, unmixed with any Sentiments of *Polytheism*, or *Atheism*. And I am apt to think, that the ancient *Pagan Theogonists* set this Work of *Moses* before them, for a Model or Pattern of their Manner or *Method* of writing History, though intermixed with their own bad *Theology*.—They wrote their National History, beginning from the *Origin* of Things; and it appeareth probable to me, that this *Method* of Writing, and this *Phraseology*, was borrowed from this Original of the *Hebrew* Antiquary, *Moses* himself; for they called them *Cosmogonies*. He wrote an History of the *Creation*, agreeable to his own Principles of the *Unity* of God; this the *Greeks* called *Genesis*, or an History of the *Generation* of the World. And also a *Theogony* they drew up in some Imitation of it, that is a *Genesis*, or *Generation* of the Gods, according to the Sentiments, as well as Language, which their idolatrous Religion inspired.

SECT. III.

On the probable Way of Conveyance of this Knowledge of the Mosaic Writings to those Countries which were the Birth-Place of Theogonies.

IT must now, in the *third Place*, be enquired, How it is likely that any Knowledge of the Writings of *Moses* should reach those Countries, which were the Birth-place of the *Pagan Theogonies*. There are four *Theogonies*, or Accounts of the *Generation* of the World, that are most famous, viz. the *Chaldean* Account, mentioned by *Berosus*; the *Phœnician* Account, by *Sanchoniaton*; the *Egyptian* Account, particularly taken Notice of by *Diodorus*

dorus Siculus; and the *Græcian* Theogony of *Hesiod*. I shall lay down my Conjectures on each of them, as to the Way of Conveying this Knowledge of *Moses*; and leave them to the Judgment of the candid Reader.

1. With regard to the Conveyance of this Knowledge of *Moses's* Writings to the *Chaldeans*,—it is not I think very difficult to explain. For, though it was not perhaps, a very perfect Acquaintance with the *Mosaic* Writings, which the *Chaldeans* obtained, since the Original *Hebrew* Language was not known to them. Yet they might, as I apprehend, acquire a considerable Acquaintance with many principal Points of *Hebrew* Knowledge, by Conversation; during the seventy Years Captivity of the People of the *Jews* in *Babylon*. The Rank and Characters of many of the Persons, and the Length of the Time they resided there, conspire to render it highly probable that several inquisitive *Chaldeans* might make good Improvements in the Knowledge of *Jewish* Curiosities; even though they might think of them in no higher View. There were several eminent Persons among the Captives, of very great Abilities, and very benevolent and kind Dispositions, which Qualities would probably induce them to communicate any Branches of Science or History, that would be like to do Good. And it is plain, that their Peculiarities in Religion were no Secret. As in the Case of the Three Children refusing to worship the King's Golden Image, *Dan. iii. 16, 17, 18.* and their heroic Reply to the King's Menaces. *Daniel* himself was an eminently good Man, and yet of singular Reputation for his Knowledge, as well as Integrity, *Dan. i. 20.* When *Daniel* discovered the King's Dream, which he had himself forgot, he was so astonished at that Discovery, that he descended to some Idolatrous Honours, even to his Person, *Dan. ii. 46.* And he proceeded to the most pious Professions of Honour for the God of Israel, of a Truth, your God is a God of Gods, a Lord of Kings, and a Revealer of Secrets, ver. 47. Upon this we are further told, *Dan. ii. 48.* That the King made *Daniel* a great Man, he made him Ruler over the whole Province of *Babylon*, and Chief of all the Governors over the wise Men of *Babylon*. From all this Narration it appeareth, that he was of great Reputation for Knowledge, not only in the Principles of his own Religion, but in the most valued Sciences. And we never hear of his being degraded, that he probably was a great Minister of State for the successive Reigns down to that of *Darius the Mede*. But, if he was retired from Business in the soft, luxurious Reign of *Belshazzar*; yet he was still known to be a very great Man, and so might have frequent Conversation with the Men of greatest Curiosity and Literature in the Kingdom. Any one would be ambitious to learn of a Prime Minister, he would be apt to communicate any Thing which would be probably useful to promote Virtue; and I cannot see that the *Jews* were prohibited from communicating any Thing which might tend to make the World wiser and better. For there are many Rules about *Profelytes*, which demonstrate, that they might make and encourage them from among other Nations. From all this I think

it very explicable, how some Knowledge of the *Mosaic Writings* might obtain among the *Chaldeans* about that Time.—Again; the *Length* of their Residence in *Chaldæa*, being a seventy Years Captivity, would bring them into frequent Conversation with the ingenious Natives; and hereby the Peculiarities of *Jewish* Knowledge might become more familiar. And, when the inquisitive Men among the *Chaldeans* came to find the Difference betwixt their own Traditions and injudicious Fancies, and this more rational intelligible Account which *Moses* had given of the Creation, they might be induced, notwithstanding their own Prejudices, to blend and intermix it with their own *Dogmata*. And further still, so many of the *Jews* stayed in *Chaldæa*, and declined a Compliance with *Cyrus's* Decree for their Liberty, that perhaps, the *Chaldæan* Sentiments, ever after, were better than they were before, by Means of this *Jewish* Intermixture.

2. With respect to the Knowledge of the Writings of *Moses* among the *Phœnicians*, there seemeth to be little Difficulty in accounting for that. I am apt to think, that as they lived in a near Vicinity to each other, so there was a great Kindred in their Language, that, probably, there were *Phœnicians* in abundance, who could read *Hebrew*, as soon as the Art of Writing and Reading came among them. Besides, *Santhoniathon*, in the Fragment preserved by *Eusebius*, expressly says, that he had his Informations from the Writings of *Thoth*, and from some Intelligence which a Priest of the God *Iao* further imparted to him. Now, tho' he has very much mangled the Reports of *Thoth*, which I take to be *Moses*, and has named a God whose Priest instructed him, which is never named among the *Phœnicians*, or owned by any of their neighbour Countries; yet, as it has been noted by many learned Men, this is probably but a disguised Name for *Jehovah*, the God of Israel. And so it may be reasonably supposed, that *Santhoniathon's* *Theogony* is no genuine Transcript of any ancient *Phœnician* Tradition, but the *Genesis* of *Moses* absurdly copied, on a Plan of Atheism, or Idolatry.

3. As to the *Theogony* of the *Egyptians*; I am inclined to think that the Original Traditions, which were brought from the Dispersion, decayed as much among them as other Nations, notwithstanding their Traditional Learning. That Learning, probably, was confined to the recording of much nearer and more recent Events, relating to their own National Affairs. But, if there were some distorted and disfigured Remains of ancient Traditions concerning the Creation of the World, or any other Primitive Transactions; yet it seems unquestionable, that they might in *Egypt* get some additional Informations concerning *Moses*; at or after the Time of *Solomon's* Intermarriage with the Royal Family of *Egypt*, which would be of great Service to them, in laying a Foundation even for their fabulous *Theogonies*. Not only curious private Persons might then come from *Egypt* to *Jerusalem*, to collect Knowledge, but it is very like that some *Egyptian Attendants* might accompany the Princess of *Egypt*, who stayed as Part of her Train and Court; who might acquire a
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more than ordinary Acquaintance with the *Hebrew* Religion, and might become *Profelytes* to it. They would be in great Likelihood of attaining a better Knowledge of the *Mosaic* History than most other Strangers ; and so might convey it more perfectly to *Egypt*, than it was conveyed to any other *Pagan* Nation, about that Time. And this is not a bare Conjecture. One Part is certain History, that *Solomon* married the *Princess* of *Egypt* ; and this Respect is most commonly paid to young Persons of such Rank, to have some of their own Countrymen to be Attendants, who speak their own Language. There was great Correspondence betwixt *Egypt* and *Judea* at that Time ; not only on Account of that Alliance, but of the Commerce that was established betwixt those two flourishing Nations, 1 *Kings* x. 28, 29.

S E C T. IV.

On the Cosmogony, or Account of the Generation of the World among the Chaldeans.

Whatever boasted Antiquity the *Chaldeans* may have gloried in, and to whatever incredible Lengths they may have carried their pretended Memoirs, yet the eldest Writer among them, of which we have any Mention, is *Berosus*, who was Priest of *Belus* in *Babylon*. There cannot be much Uncertainty as to his Age. For *Tatian* [*Orat. adv. Gentes*, p. 171.] says, " That he lived in the Time of *Alexander*, and that he dedicated his Work " to *Antiochus*, who was the third after *Alexander*," viz. to *Antiochus Theus*.—*Gerard Vossius* [*de Histor. Græc. cap. 13. Lib. 1.*] takes great Pains to prove also that *Berosus* was something elder than *Manetho*, and that he published his *Chaldean* History in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*. He computeth thus, That *Ptolemy* reigned 38 Years : That, in the sixth Year of *Ptolemy*, *Antiochus Soter* began to reign in *Syria* ; and in *Ptolemy*'s twenty-second Year, *Antiochus Theus* came to the Crown. So that, if he was a young Man, when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, he might be, in the Course of Nature, alive when *Antiochus Theus* came to the Throne of *Syria*.* He wrote his History of *Chaldean* Affairs in three Books, as *Tatian* and several other of the Ancients testify. But, of whatever Eminency these *Chaldaica* of *Berosus* were, they have all perished by the Ruins of Time, except some Fragments, which have been preserved by *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*.

The *Chaldean* Cosmogony, or their Tradition concerning the Generation, or Origin of the World, we meet with in that celebrated Fragment of *Berosus*, preserved by *George Syncellus*, Pages 28th and 29th of his *Chronography*, to this Purpose.—" A Man, or rather a Monster, half Man, half Fish, " (which was the Way, in which they painted a Seaman, as Sir *Isaac New-*

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* *Tatian. Orat. contr. Græc. p. 171.*

ton notes) sprung from the Red Sea, appeared in a Plain near Babylon. He had two Heads. To his Fish's Tail were joined the Feet of a Man, and he had human Voice and Speech." *Berosus* says of him, that he was *ζῷον ἀσπερον*, which *Goarus*, the Publisher of *Syncellus*, translates, *Animal ratione destitutum*. But, as this doth not appear agreeable to the Idea which the *Chaldean* Author had entertained of him, who says that he taught Men Sciences; and as *ἀσπερον* is not a Greek Word, as a learned French Author remarks,* it must be an Error in the Text of *Syncellus*. "This strange Being, according to *Berosus*, abode with Men all Day, without Food; and taught them the Knowledge of Letters, and the Sciences, and the Practice of Arts, the Building of Cities and Temples, the Enacting of Laws; to sow and gather Grain and Fruits: In a Word, whatever could contribute to civilize their Manners. At Sun-setting he withdrew into the Sea, and spent the Night in the Waters, that is, he conversed ashore all Day, and retired in the Evening to his Ship, and eat and lodged aboard." The same Author adds, "That this *Oannes* had wrote a Book concerning the Origin of Things, in which he taught, That there was a Time when all was Water and Darknes; and that in them were contained Animals of all monstrous Forms. Men with two Wings, others with four, having two Heads upon the same Body, one of a Man, the other of a Woman, with the Distinction of either Sex. That all the Animals were in short of a monstrous and irregular Make, and like the Representations of them, to be seen in the Temple of *Belus*." This Author adds further, "That a Woman named *Omoroca*, was Mistress of the Universe." This *Omoroca*, *Syncellus* interprets to signify the Sea, agreeing with an ancient Dogma, That Water was the first Principle of all Things: "That *Belus* clove her asunder, and formed Earth of the one Part, and Heaven of the other, and put all those Monsters to Death. Then *Belus* divided the Darknes, separated Earth from Heaven, and ranged the Universe in Order. He then ordered one of the Gods to cut off his Head, to mix with Earth the Blood which flowed from the Wound; and of it to frame Men and Animals. After which he framed the Stars and Planets; and thus finished the Production of all Beings." This is what the first Book of *Berosus* contained.†

On this *Chaldean* Account of the Origin of the World, I shall make a few Remarks: (1.) As to the Sense, or Intelligibleness of it. (2.) As to the Foundation they could have for it. (3.) How they could come at the Knowledge of the *Mosaic* Account of the Creation. (4.) What useful Knowledge could be gathered from this *Chaldean* Tradition, as here set down from *Berosus*. (1.) As to the Intelligibleness of this Story, it is very exceptionable on Account of its Obscurity. They, who were esteemed so great Masters of Reason and Science, so eminent for Astronomy, and all polite Arts, and especially

* Vid. *Abbé Banier. Mythology of Ancients, &c.* p. 81.

† *Banier. Mythol. of Ancients.*

especially for Architecture, of which their famous Capital of *Babylon*, was an illustrious Instance, yet they are as mysterious and obscure as any, in their *Cosmogony*. All their monstrous Animals with many Heads, two Bodies, and all mixed, misshapen Forms, as the Bodies of Horses joined to the Heads of Bulls or Dogs, or the contrary. These are very difficult to explain, to know what they could mean by them. Then the Woman *Omoroca*, which *Belus* clove asunder, out of which he made Heaven and Earth. The cutting off a God's Head, or as some Traditions say, her Head, to mix the Blood with the Earth, out of which to make all the animated World. These are all infinitely obscure, and scarce can afford any useful Meaning. (2.) As to the Foundation of these seemingly monstrous Fictions, I cannot think they could have any Tradition so old as from the Dispersion to the Time of *Berosus's* Writing, or *Oannes's* Coming from the *Red Sea*. But, if they could have any Remnant of that Primitive Tradition, it must have been so disfigured by ensuing Fables, that it is no Wonder it should be unintelligible. (3.) How they might have come at the Knowledge of the *Mosaic* History of this grand Event of the Creation, I have fully explained, from their Correspondence with the *Jews* in the seventy Years Captivity. And yet, as the *Hebrew* Tongue was unknown to them, it is probable that all their Acquaintance with these Things, was by Conversation; whereby they might either apprehend, or remember it something indistinctly. However, there are several Traces of the *Mosaic* History in this *Cosmogony* of *Berosus*. As that all was once Water and Darkness, which might be borrowed from *Gen. i. 2. Darkness was on the Face of the Deep, or Abyss of Waters*. If the cleaving asunder of *Omoroca* is to be explained into any intelligible Sense, it must be by *Moses's* Account of *God's* dividing the Waters which were *above* the Firmament, from the Waters which were *below* the Firmament; and his calling the Firmament *Heaven*, and the Dry Land *Earth*, and the gathering together of the Waters, the *Sea*, *Gen. i. 6, 8, 10*. Again; some Things relating to the Formation of Man, however absurdly it is copied, seem to be borrowed from *Moses*; as the Account of those first Man-Monsters, who had two Heads, four Arms, two Bodies, and both Sexes, taken from that Account of *God's* making *Man Male and Female*, *Gen. i. 27*. (4.) With respect to any useful Doctrines to be gathered from this *Cosmogony*, there is but this one, that the Gods were before the World; so that it is not a Theogony, or Generation of the Gods, as most of the other Nations Traditions are; and this may further persuade us, that the *Chaldeans* had their Knowledge from such considerable Informers as *Daniel* and his Brethren in the Captivity. But then it was so corrupted before *Berosus* wrote, that scarce any valuable Inferences could be deduced from it. We do not find in it any beautiful Intimations of the Progress of Divine Wisdom and Power, in this orderly Work of Creation, which is related in so sublime and so intelligible a Manner by *Moses*. In the latter, we are led to observe every Step; in the former, we are no wiser for what

what we read ; it being only an Heap of mysterious Wonders and odd Fables.

I will add but one Thing more, viz. A Conjecture on *Oannes* in *Berosus*, who is called *Oës*, by *Helladius*, as he is cited by *Photius* in *Bibliotheca*, and *Eubadnes* by *Hygenius*, in *Fabl.* 274. * This seems to be the same Person, under these different Names ; and, under these Fables, is covered the genuine Story of *Moses's* Coming out of the Red Sea, with the Hebrew Nation. For *Berosus* says, that he sprung from the Red Sea ; that he wrote Books of the Origin of Things ; and that he taught them the Sciences and Arts, and particularly the enacting Laws, and the Construction of Temples, or Building the Tabernacle, which Knowledge of *Moses's* Works and Country, might be derived from *Daniel*, and the other Jews of the Captivity. And the Saying, that he was a Stranger coming from the Red Sea, shews that he was not a Native, nor that this was a native Chaldean Tradition, but came from the Red Sea ; and that Letters and Sciences came from the same Place. And, tho' one would think that the Pride of the Chaldeans would scarce have allowed them to own this Truth ; yet so it was, that an absolute Poverty of Materials for Antiquity among themselves, induced them rather to drop this Secret, under the Cover of this Fable, than plainly to tell the naked Truth.

S E C T. V.

On the Phœnician Theogony of Sanchoniatho.

Sanchoniatho, a Priest of *Berytus*, wrote this *Theogony*, which we are now going to consider, in the Phœnician Tongue, and dedicated it to *Abibalus*, King of *Phœnicia*, the Father of that *Hiram*, as I think, who was the Friend of *David* and *Solomon*. It was translated into Greek by *Philo Byblius*, about the Time of the *Antonines*. *Philo*, in a Preface to his Translation, gives this Account of his Author : “ That he being passionately desirous to know “ the History of all Nations, even from the Beginning, did accordingly set “ himself to the most careful Scrutiny into the Works of *Taautus*, or *Thoth* ; “ being assured that, as he had been the Inventor of Letters, so he must “ have been the first Historian.” *Sanchoniathon* also received some Informations from a Priest of the God *Jeuo*, as well as other Antiquities from the Archives of Cities and Temples. This Account of the Phœnician Traditions, on this Head of their *Theogony*, I shall lay before you in the Translation of *Bishop Cumberland*, who had thoroughly considered this Fragment in *Eusebius*. †

“ He

* *Hygin.* p. 202. *Fab. de Rer. Inventor.*

† *Euseb. Præpar. Evangelic. Lib. I. cap. 10.*

“ He says that the Principle of the Universe was a dark and windy Air,
 “ or a Wind made of dark Air, and a turbulent Evening Chaos ; and that
 “ those Things were long *without Bound*,* or Figure. But, when this
 “ Wind fell in Love with his own Principles, and a Mixture was
 “ made, that Mixture was called *Desire* or *Love*. This Mixture com-
 “ pleted, was the Beginning of the making of all Things. But that
 “ Wind or Spirit did not know his own Productions. Of this, with that
 “ Wind or Spirit was begotten *Mot*, or *Mud*, that is a Slime, or the Putre-
 “ faction of an aqueous Mixture, which was the seminal Principle of all
 “ Things, and the Generation of the Universe. The first Animals were
 “ void of Sensation, out of which were begotten intelligent Animals, and
 “ they were called *Zophasemin*, that is, the Spies or Overseers, or Speculators
 “ of Heaven, and were formed alike in the Shape of an Egg. Thus, after
 “ *Mot*, shone out the Sun and Moon, the greater and lesser Stars. Such,
 “ addeth *Eusebius*, is the *Phœnician* Cosmogony directly bringing in Atheism.
 “ He proceedeth in the Generation of Animals, the Air shining thoroughly
 “ with Light ; by its fiery Influence on the Sea and Earth, Winds were be-
 “ gotten, with Clouds and great Defluxions of the heavenly Waters, or
 “ Showers of Rain. And, when all these Things were first separated from
 “ their proper Place, by the Heat of the Sun, then all met again in the Air,
 “ where jostling against one another, Thunders and Lightnings were made ;
 “ whose Noise awakened the aforesaid intelligent Animals, and frightened
 “ them so, that Male and Female they began to stir in the Earth and Sea.”
 This is their Generation of Animals.

I have a few Things to observe on this *Phœnician's* Cosmogony, or his Ac-
 count of the Origin and Generation of Things.

(1.) There is no Probability that they could have any genuine Traditions
 from the Dispersion, to the Times of *Abibalus*, (who was, I think, Contem-
 porary with *Saul* or *David*,) which could be a Foundation for such an Ac-
 count of the Generation of the World, as this of *Sanchoniathon's*. The
 World, at the Time of the Dispersion, could not be so ignorant and cor-
 rupt, as this *Phœnician* Work implies. And further, considering the great
 Length of Time, there could be scarce any Tradition at all, of this distant
 Event of the Creation. (2.) They had no Letters in *Phœnicia* till about this
 Time ; therefore all this pretended *Apparatus*, about consulting the Writings
 of *Thoth*, or *Taautus*, or the other Records of their Cities, or Temples, must
 have been Fiction ; unless by *Taautus*, he meant *Moses*. (3.) He certainly
 might have had some Account of the History of *Moses*, if he was Contempo-
 rary with *Samuel*, *Saul*, or *David* ; for the *Phœnicians* of the North about
 Tyre, were in Correspondence with the *Israelites*. *Sanchoniathon* might at
 least have obtained this Intelligence by *Conversation* and Enquiry ; tho' he
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* *Banier*, from *Monf. Fourmont*, translates it thus : “ The Chaos was full of Confusion and
 “ without Light, *Eternal* and of *endless Duration*.” *Banier. Mythol.* p. 90.

might not be permitted to read or transcribe the Book itself. (4.) He himself plainly acknowledgeth *One* of the Originals of his Information, even a Priest of the God *Jevo*, or *JEHOVAH*; this Confession is a Proof out of his own Mouth, of the *Hebrew* Original of his Intelligence. And I think this was all his Intelligence; the Memoirs of Cities, and Records of Temples are to be considered as Flourish and Invention, to hide his principal Information; for I think there could be no Records of any great Antiquity at that Time in *Phœnicia*. (5.) It is plain that he did not copy from *Moses*, tho' he must have had sufficient Hints of the *Mosaic* Doctrine on this Head. *Moses* plainly taught that God *made* all Things; yet as our Author was a Polytheist and Idolater, he made use of these Hints to correspond to his idolatrous Scheme. For *Sanchoiathon's* is a Cosmogony without a God, as having any Concern in the Operation of making the World; which is the highest of all Absurdities; but which the *Chaldean* was not. He was a Priest of the idolatrous Religion of *Phœnicia*; and from whatever Materials he wrote, he modelled his pretended History, so as to quadrate with his own Religion, and to apologize for it, such as the Doctrine of *many* Gods, *made* Gods, and its other numerous Absurdities. (6.) After all, it is an unintelligible Rhapsody of Fables, out of which I cannot see how any rational Account of the Origin of Things can be gathered; or that any Sense could be found in it, by which any Reader could be made wiser or better. If every Country in the World had had among them such an History of the Creation, or making the World, as this, they must have been as ignorant of any true Principles of Things, and as brutal and undisciplined in their Manners, as we may suppose the *Phœnicians* to have been. How very different, and how much more noble Sentiments would thinking Men naturally have had, by reading the *Mosaic* Account of the Creation? What noble Foundations are there laid for admiring and adoring the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the Deity, the Almighty, benevolent Father of this Universe! What solid Foundation for Gratitude to him who successively brought the Chaos into an orderly, convenient World, with infinite Wisdom, and Skill, and Design! What rational, intelligible Foundation for all the most dutiful Exercises of Love and Honour, for Reverence and Fear, for Trust in him and Obedience to him, after all these Demonstrations of Wisdom, Power and Benevolence!

S E C T. VI.

On the Cosmogony of the Egyptians.

AS I intend to consider the most celebrated Traditions of *Paganism*, concerning the Origin of Things, in order to the most fair Comparison of them with *Moses*, and to illustrate the demonstrative Precedency of his Account of that Event, to that of any other Author or People; I shall proceed to the *Cosmogony* of the *Egyptians*. This I shall take from *Diodorus Siculus*, who explains their Doctrine as follows:— * “ Some, says he, are of Opinion that the World had neither Beginning, nor ever shall have End; “ and that Mankind was from Eternity, and that there never was a Time “ when he first began to be. Others, on the contrary, conceive the World “ both to have been made, and to be corruptible, and that there was a certain Time when Men had their first Existence. For, whereas all Things “ at first were jumbled together, and Heaven and Earth were in one Mass, “ and had one Form. Afterwards, when *corporeal* Beings appeared one after “ another, the World at length presented itself in the Order in which we “ now see it. That the Air was in continual Agitation, whose fiery Parts “ ascended together to the highest Place; their Nature, by reason of their “ Levity, tending always upwards. Whence the Sun and innumerable Stars “ are contained within that Orb. That the gross and earthy Matter, cement- “ ed by Moisture, and by reason of its Weight, sunk down below into one “ Place, and is perpetually whirling about. The Sea was generated of the “ humid Parts, and the Earth of the more solid, but as yet more marshy “ and soft. This by Degrees was made crusty, by the Heat of the Sun. “ After the Face of the Earth was parched, and the Moisture as it were “ fermented, it in many Places bubbled up, and appeared like so many “ Pustules, wrapped up in thin and slender Coats and Skins: Such as may “ still be seen in marshy Places, when after the Earth hath been pierced “ with Cold, the Air groweth hot on a sudden, without a gradual Altera- “ tion. And whereas Moisture generates Creatures from Heat, as from a “ feminal Principle, Things so generated, by being inwapt in the dewy “ Mists of the Night, increased, and in the Day solidated and were made “ hard by the Heat of the Sun. And when the Births, included in those “ Ventricles, had received their due Proportions, then those slender Skins “ being burst asunder by the Heat, the Forms of all Sorts of living Creatures “ were produced into Light. Of which those, which had most of the Heat, “ mounted aloft, and became Fowls and Birds of the Air: And those, which “ were more droffy, and had more of Earth in their Composition, were num-

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“ bered

* *Diodor. Sic. Bibliothec. Lib. I. c. 1. ab initio.*

“bered among creeping Things, and other Animals, all together used to the
 “Earth. Then those Animals, which were naturally more moist and watry,
 “as Fishes, presently hastened to the Place connatural to them. But, when
 “the Earth became more dry and solid by the Sun, and drying Winds; it
 “had not Power at length to produce any more of the greater Animals; but
 “each of them, which had an animal Life, began to increase their Species
 “by Copulation.” This Cosmogony the ingenious *Abbé Banier*, Member of
 the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and *Belles Lettres*,* takes to be *Egyptian*.
 And it may be gathered, as I think, from *Diodorus* himself. For he subjoins,
 immediately after this Account, “That the *Egyptians* bring Testimonies of
 “this Energy of the Earth, by Instances of the same Things being done at
 “this Day. For they say, that about *Thebes* in *Egypt*, after the overflowing
 “of the *Nile*, the Earth there being covered with Mud and Slime, many
 “Places putrify thro’ the Heat of the Sun, and thence are bred a Multitude
 “of Mice, as well as innumerable Insects.”

It may be further observed that, whatever Inconsistency there may be in
 this System, it consists also of a Theogony, or an Account of the Generation
 of the Gods. For *Diodorus Siculus* further tells us, that the first Generation
 of Men in *Egypt*, looking up with Admiration on the heavenly World, judged
 that there were two chief Gods, the *Sun* and *Moon*, which they worshipped
 under the Names of *Osiris* and *Isis*. And that these Gods, having in their
 Natures five Qualities, which contributed to the Generation of all other Things,
viz. a Spirit or quickening Efficacy, Heat or Fire, Dryness or the Earth, Moisture
 or Water, and Air. They called these Qualities *Jupiter* or Spirit, *Vulcan* or
 Fire, *Metera* or *Demeter*, or Earth; and the Air they called *Minerva*, the
 Daughter of *Jupiter*.——But as the learned *Abbé Banier* observes, “When
 “one has set out in the dark, he loseth himself in Proportion as he advan-
 “ceth.” For they did not stop here in the deifying these material Qualities.
 But, as *Diodorus Siculus* informeth us, their great Gods were the *Sun*, *Sa-*
turn, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Vesta*, *Mercury*. They propagated Dei-
 ties; for *Chronus* (or *Saturn*) having married *Rhea*, begot of her *Osiris* and
Isis, according to others, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and five other Gods, *Osiris* and
Isis; *Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Venus*.†——So that now, whatever might have been
 the Sentiments of the ancient *Egyptian* Philosophers, or their Conjectures
 about the Origin of Things, yet their *Theogony* is an Idolatry of a gross Na-
 ture, and what they taught as the Foundation of their Religion.

On this Tradition of the *Egyptians* about the Generation of the World, I
 now add some Remarks: (1.) That there could not be among the *Egyptians*,
 any more than other Nations, any Tradition conveyed from the Time of the
 Dispersion, which could be a Foundation for such Fables as these. For,
 whatever their boasted Learning was, or whatever their Care might be, to
 preserve ancient Traditions, it is plain, by this Sample, that they were very
 imperfect

* *Mythology of Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 102.

† *Diod. Sic. L. I. c. 1.*

imperfect and unsatisfying Things. (2.) That there might have been as clear a Knowledge of the Doctrine of *Moses*, in *Egypt*, as in most other Nations. For there is one certain and undoubted Period of great Correspondence betwixt them and the *Hebrews*; I mean the Reign of *Solomon*. Not only on Account of its being one of the most learned and polite Reigns of any, in the whole *Jewish* Succession; but especially, on Account of the Intermarriage betwixt the Royal Families. This must naturally create great Intimacies betwixt the two Nations. When *Solomon* had married the Princess Royal of *Egypt*, it is highly probable that some *Egyptians* of Note and Distinction must have attended on the Princess to the Court of *Jerusalem*, and have staid with her, as her Domestics, perhaps even to the Time of her Death. Besides, the Queen was, very probably, a Profelyte to the *Jewish* Religion, and so might some of her *Egyptian* Domestics also be. For *Solomon* married *Pharaoh's* Daughter in his Youth, soon after he came to the Throne; and we find no Complaints of her, for turning his Heart to any foreign Religion. He was many Years in great Favour with God, after he married this Princess; and it doth not appear that he was perverted to any Connivance at, or Encouragement of Idolatry till his advanced Age.—But then this Friendship betwixt the two Nations lasted not long. For, in the fifth Year of the next Reign, *Shishak* came up against *Jerusalem* with a numerous and potent Army, collected out of different Nations, 2 *Chron.* xii. And he seemeth to have commenced that long successful War, which he prosecuted with such a rapid Series of Conquests afterwards, with a subduing and bringing the *Jews* to Tribute. Now, tho' the *Egyptians* might, by this friendly Intercourse in *Solomon's* Reign, attain to considerable Knowledge of *Moses's* Writings and Doctrines; yet, as they broke off this Amity soon after, they might not be willing to confess, or even intimate any Obligations to the *Jews*, for any Branches of Knowledge, which they had really received from them.—Then further, as I apprehend that Writing begun to be in Use in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Shishak*, and Records might commence, by the Writings of *Thoth*, the Secretary of *Osiris*, or *Shishak*, about this Time. And, as it might not be generally known what Intelligence their learned Men had from the *Jews*, the *Egyptians* would endeavour to secure the unrivalled Honour of being the original Inventors of these Arts, and being the first acquainted with this ancient Knowledge; and therefore, if they borrowed from *Moses*, they would do it in a cautious and obscure Manner.

(3.) It is obvious, as *Eusebius* has observed, that this System, as well as that of the *Phœnicians*, excludeth the Creator from any Concern in the Formation of the Universe. And this is a total Rejecting the Doctrine of the *Hebrew* Historian.

(4.) Tho' the *Egyptians*, by the Means I have mentioned, might have had more correct Accounts of *Mosaic* History, than most other Nations; yet still they were gross Idolaters, and embraced a very corrupt erroneous Religion;

gion ; we may therefore think that any Account of the Origin of Things would be modelled to the Cast of their prevailing National Superstitions. And further still, as they were then beginning to deify their Kings, they would not be like to mention the ONE true GOD as the Creator of the World, tho' they might have the Notion from *Moses* at that Time.—And, as they had perhaps, then, long been of Opinion, however absurdly, that the Sun and Moon were the chief Gods, they would still encourage an atheistical *Cosmogony* among themselves.

S E C T. VII.

On the Theogonies of the Greeks.

THE *Greeks* do not seem to have had, from their Situation, any favourable Opportunities of coming acquainted with the Writings, or even the Doctrines of *Moses*. For, as the *Hebrews* chiefly inhabited the Inland Parts of *Palestine*, or the ancient *Canaan*, the *Greeks* could not have much Correspondence with them. Accordingly, one would suspect that the *Greek Cosmogonies* would be derived from the Traditions of pure *Paganism*; which, about the Age of *Hesiod*, would be degenerated to almost nothing. And indeed, the *Theogony* of *Hesiod* appears to have very little Relation to the *Genesis* of *Moses*. But then, it is observed, by many learned Men, that the *Greeks* borrowed all their Fables, relating to Religion, from the *Egyptians*; and most of the Rites of their Superstitions. *Herodotus* thinks that the Gods of *Greece* were mostly derived from *Egypt*. But then, there was a famous *Theogony* of the *Greeks* much elder than that of *Hesiod*, which all their elder Writers make mention of, I mean that of the celebrated *Orpheus*. And, as the learned *Abbé Banier* notes, is much more unexceptionable than *Hesiod's*. I acknowledge, we have nothing unquestionably genuine of *Orpheus* on this Subject. Yet, as he was reckoned a great Poet, and a sublime Philosopher; and was followed, as it is generally thought, by the most eminent Sects of Philosophers in *Greece*, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, who were among the most religious of their Philosophers;—this may incline us to entertain a good Opinion of him. But what more especially induces me to think favourably of what might have been the original, genuine Account of the Generation of the World, by *Orpheus*, is this; viz. the Age when he himself lived. He was an *Argonaut*, as all the Ancients alledge, who enumerate the Heroes of that extraordinary Expedition. Now this was but one Age after *Bacchus* was in *Thrace*, where he gave one of his favourite Minstrels to a *Thracian* Prince, by whom she had *Orpheus*. And, as I take this *Bacchus* to be the same with *Sesostris*, or *Shishak*, in the *Hebrew* Story; so it seems to me not difficult to account for it, how *Orpheus* might be, in that Age, much better

Better instructed in the Knowledge of the genuine Originals of Things, as derived from *Moses*, than the *Greeks* could be, in almost any Age before, or after. *Orpheus*, or his famous Master, *Musæus*, might occasionally learn much of the Doctrines of *Moses*, on this Subject, from those *Egyptians* who were in *Shishak's* Army in *Thrace*; or perhaps from his own Mother, who became one of the *Muses*. Besides, he travelled into *Egypt*, for the Improvement of himself in all their religious Knowledge, as *Diodorus Siculus* tells us. He might have learned many of the Doctrines of *Moses*, from those, who had been at *Jerusalem*, during the Time of familiar Correspondence betwixt the two Nations; or from those who had been Attendants upon the Queen, at the Court of *Jerusalem*. And this Correspondence might reach perhaps to half the Time of *Shishak's* Reign; for *Solomon's* Queen seems to have been *Shishak's* Sister. All these Circumstances would account for it, (if there were any Evidences of the Fact) that *Orpheus* should give them a good *Cosmogony*, even intermixed with the Doctrines of *Moses*, along with their own fabulous Traditions.—But *Orpheus* again is said to have introduced the ancient Rites of *Paganism* from the *Egyptians* into *Greece*; and is accused by some to have been the Inventor of the very Names of their Gods, and to have forged their *Genealogies*. For my part, all these Assertions appear not to be worthy of much Wonder; if we have but a right Chronology of the Date of the different Branches of the *Pagan* Superstitions. The deifying of the *Heroes*, or great Men, was, as I apprehend, begun in *Shishak's* Reign, and principally by his Authority; after he was intoxicated with Pride, by such a Series of Successes, in those nine Years Conquests, of which the Historians speak so magnificently. What Wonder can there be in it, that *Orpheus* should introduce this Theology from *Egypt*, where it was just new coined in the Age before, into *Greece*, where it must be as yet almost a Stranger. For, tho' most of the *Heathen* Nations had their Gods, before this blasphemous Innovation; yet they were generally only sydereal, or elementary Deities, as the Sun, Moon, Planets, and the material Elements; as Earth and Air, Fire and Water, and such like, without which the World seemed not capable of subsisting. There could not well be an intelligible Account of the Genealogy or Descent of these Gods one from another, as the Sun and Moon, or the elementary Deities, begetting one another; unless it proceeded from a very gross Physiology; and, if they had deified any Virtues, or Qualities before, this must have been by a strange Latitude in the Application of Allegories, and in giving Life and Person to every Thing, that they could make Genealogies. But, as soon as they exalted their Heroes into Gods, then their Genealogies and Descents would be less embarrassing to comprehend. When their Kings or Heroes were become Gods, then their Queens might attain the new Name of *Goddeesses*; and their Sons or Daughters might in Time be *Divinities*; from whence would arise an obvious Ground for the Genealogies of the Gods, about the Days of *Orpheus*.—Again, further; these new Gods, after

after a Time, if not immediately, took the Names of the *Old* established Deities, or had them given to them by their idolatrous Flatterers ; which would make new Confusion in their System of Theology that was not very good Sense before. *Osiris* would be the Sun, and *Isis* the Moon, and such like Alterations would make Difficulties in their new Plan of Superstition ; and this might well require such an harmonious Hand as *Orpheus* to bring these Disorders among their Gods themselves into some Sort of Consistency. He is called by some *the great Grecian Apostle of Polytheism* ; and, as he was, no doubt, a *Polytheist*, he may well be supposed to collect all these new Changes in the *Egyptian* Religion, for the Instruction of his own Countrymen, the *Greeks* ; among whom he was so admired a Name. And yet, for all that, there doth not seem to be any Thing astonishing, that he should suggest so many good Sentiments in his Account of the Origin of Things, which he received from his *Egyptian* Instructors, and who might themselves have heard them in *Solomon's* Court. They might hear these Sentiments, and relate them again ; yet as they were *Idolaters*, and heard them under the Prejudices of their own corrupt Religion, they might not much regard them. But then, as this Doctrine of *Moses* was a Curiosity to the *Pagan* World, which had been long swallowed up with *Polytheism*, under its different Forms and Species of Absurdity ; so *Orpheus* might attend to this strange Sentiment of the *UNITY* of the Deity, as a great Curiosity, and might covertly insert it in his *Cosmogony*, whether he believed it or not.

I shall now proceed to lay down the *Cosmogony* of *Orpheus*, as it was described by *Timotheus*, an Historian, or Chronologer of the sixth Century, and a Christian Writer, as *Vossius* tells us.* *Timotheus* is now lost, but we find him cited pretty largely by *George Cedrenus*, in his *Annals*, to this Purpose.† *Timotheus* says, “ That this ancient Poet, in describing the Generation of the
 “ Gods, the Making of the World, and Formation of Man, had, by way
 “ of Preface to his Work, inserted this Remark ; That he had wrote nothing
 “ concerning these Things, from his own Judgment or private Opinion, but
 “ that he had enquired of *Titanian Phæbus*, what was the Generation of the
 “ Gods, and who made the World, and that having received Satisfaction in
 “ his Enquiries, he taught a *Theogony* to this Purpose :—In the Beginning
 “ GOD formed the *Ether*, or Heaven ; and that, on every Side of the *Ether*,
 “ there was a *Chaos*, and *Night* covered all that was under the *Ether*, and
 “ that the *Earth* was invisible, by Means of a caliginous Darkness that co-
 “ vered it. But that the *Light* breaking, or darting thro’ the *Ether*, en-
 “ lightened the whole World. This is that *Light* which he calls *the eldest*
 “ *of Beings*, to which an Oracle had given the Names of *Counsel*, *Light*, and
 “ *Giver of Life*.” *Timotheus* (in *Cedrenus*) adds, “ That according to the
 “ Doctrine of *Orpheus*, these Divine Powers of these three Names are one
 “ Energy and Power ; by which Power all the other immaterial Beings, as
 “ also

* *Voss. de Hist. Græc. Lib. III. p. 334.*

† *Cedrin. Annal. Xyland. p. 46.*

“also the Sun, Moon, Potentates, all the Stars, the Earth, the Sea, and
 “whatever is in them, which either is seen or escapes our Sight, were created,
 “that Mankind were formed of the Earth by the same Deity, and received
 “from thence a reasonable Soul.”

In fine, this same Author asserts, that *Orpheus* had wrote another Tract, wherein he taught, “That all Things had been produced by one God, who
 “had three Names, and that this God was himself all Things.”

Now there doth appear something suspicious, as to these Testimonies for the *Trinity*, here said to be extracted from *Orpheus*; yet all concerning the *Unity* of the Creator, might have been known to *Orpheus*, at that Time, from the *Egyptian* Reports of that Age: And one Thing may be said on this Subject, that the most learned of the primitive *Christian Fathers* preferred the *Theology* of *Orpheus* to that of any other Pagan.*

There will not be a Necessity of saying much on the *Theogony* of *Hesiod*, which is, however improperly, put into the Hands of most School-boys. This short Abstract of it shall suffice.—In the Beginning was the *Chaos*, which gave Birth to *Terra*, or the Earth; then was born *Love*, the fairest of the Immortals. *Chaos* engendered *Erebus* and Night. From whose Union was born *Æther* and the Day. *Terra* (or the Earth) bore *Cælus* (or Heaven) and, by her Marriage with *Cælus*, she brought forth *Oceanus*, (the Ocean) and with him *Cæus*, *Cœus*, *Hyperion*, *Japetus*, *Thea*, *Rhea*, *Tethys*, *Phebe*, *Saturn*, and several other Children, as the proud *Titans*, *Cottus* and *Briareus*, with 50 Heads and 100 Hands. But *Cælus* confined his Sons so closely, that it much grieved their Mother *Terra*. And they having forged a Scythe, *Saturn* seized it, and laying in Ambush, surprized *Cælus* as he was going to lie with *Terra*, and cut off his Privities. From the Blood of which Wound sprung the *Giants*, the *Nymphs* and *Furies*.—Farther, *Night* of herself alone, without the Intervention of any other God, brought forth the hateful *Destiny*, and the black *Parcæ*, viz. *Clotbo*, *Lachesis* and *Atropos*, those unrelenting Sisters, which spin out, and cut off our Days; with many other Qualities deified.—*Pontus*, by *Terra*, had the just *Nereus*, *Thaumas*, *Phorcys*, the beautiful *Ceto* and *Eurybia*. And from *Nereus* and *Doris*, the Daughter of *Oceanus*, came the *Nereids*, fifty in Number.—*Saturn*, having married *Rhea*, had by her illustrious Children, *Vesta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Neptune*, *Pluto* and *Jupiter*, whom *Hesiod* calls the Father of Gods and Men. *Hesiod* then proceedeth to relate the Wars of *Jupiter* against his Father *Saturn*, and the *Titans*. The Posterity of the Gods, some by mortal Women; and, of the Goddesses, by mortal Men.

I have now, not without some Disgust in the Perusal, gone thro' this trifling *Theogony* of *Hesiod*. It is, indeed, the most remote from *Moses*, of any of the *Pagan Cosmogonies*; and on this Account bids fairest to be an Original, *Pagan Fiction*. If it was built on any ancient Traditions, they were

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* Vid. *Abbé Banier* on the *Mythology* of the *Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 112.

at this Time vanished into very worthless, obscure Things. This contemptible and monstrous Composition appeareth plainly to be derived from two Sources, first a gross System of *Physics*, most obscurely explained. The World, in its *Chaotic* State, with its pre-existing Matter, underwent some great Changes, whereby the Earth, the Heavens, the Mountains, the Ocean, Seas and Rivers were produced or generated : And, as there is no Notice taken of the Operation of God in the Production, so we must think, that this Author imagined them all to spring from the Operation of natural Causes ; which, however, he has so distorted with Fiction, as to make his Meaning almost unintelligible. This was the Generation of his *First* Gods, with which he has peopled Earth and Heaven, Sea and Air, and so replenished all the Regions of Nature with Absurdities, and imaginary Persons, that one knows not what Events he has described. *Secondly*, He proceeds to a fabulous History of their ancient Princes, which are now become *Gods* ; and absurdly subjoins them to the other. From this arises an Account of their Rebellions, as *Saturn* against *Cælus* ; and their Wars of the *Titans* and *Giants*. To which he adds a Catalogue of their adulterous, spurious Progeny of their Kings and Queens ; perhaps more numerous than even those Princes when alive deserved the Infamy of. If the Admirers of *Hesiod*, and the other fabulous Writers, should pretend, that there are other noble and just Meanings concealed under this Envelope of Fable ; yet they must be acknowledged to be of little Service to Mankind, on Account of their Intricacy and Obscurity. Whether they refer to their *Physiological* Notions, or to Instructions by their *Allegorical* Persons, which they raise into Life and Action, a Reader can have little Advantage by Instructions, the Meaning whereof are so extremely difficult to discover ; so that they must have been bad Teachers, if they knew *better*, to set forth their Knowledge so unintelligibly and enigmatically. And, if they pretended to treat of such great Subjects, as the Originals of Things, to endeavour to clothe their Discoveries with such impenetrable Obscurity, must be a Method the most incongruous to the Design of Instructing. Whether, therefore, they *did* or *did not* know better ; whether it was owing to their Want of Intelligence and *Information*, or to their Want of *Honesty*, still it comes to the same Thing, which I am intending to prove ; *namely*, That they were very despicable Writers on the Origin of the World, *compared* with *Moses*. For he neither wanted Information on this high Point, nor Integrity or Capacity to represent it, in a most plain and simple, most useful, noble, and edifying Manner.

C H A P. VIII.

The Mosaic History of the Creation.

HAVING now considered those, which are accounted the eldest Branches of *Heathen* History, namely their *Cosmogonies*; and the most celebrated that we have any Account of, among the profane Authors of Antiquity; and observed the Inconveniences with which they are all embarrassed, as to their obvious Defect in Perspicuity, Evidence and Usefulness. I now proceed to the Consideration of the *Mosaic* Account of the *Creation*, in which it will plainly appear that it has all those Advantages, in which all the other are so flagrantly deficient.

S E C T. I.

On the Advantages of the Mosaic History of the Creation.

THIS History of the Creation by *Moses* is drawn up upon a Religious Scheme. The Doctrine of the *Unity* and infinite *Perfections* of *God* is laid down as a first Principle. *In the BEGINNING GOD created the Heaven and the Earth.* For the Greatness of the Work demonstrated the superior *Perfections* of the Divine Architect. *In the Beginning* God exerted the Energy of his Power and Will in bringing Heaven and Earth, *i. e. all Things* into Being. *Moses* here intimateth the *Eternity* of the Creator, and his *uncreated* Independency, while He strongly asserteth that every thing besides, was *made* in *Time*. He ascribes all the great Effects in the *Visible* World, and I think the *Invisible* World too, to the Power of God, which is ascribing them to an adequate Cause. This first Verse in *Genesis* seems, therefore, to be as a General Preface to the Whole, in which the Divine Historian sets forth, as in an Exordium, this General Truth, That *One God created the whole Universe, every Being of every Kind*; as well as those which are afterwards particularly enumerated.

2. It is an *intelligible* Account, and a very *credible* one. For we see all these Things now *existing* in the World, which he *relateth* to have been *made*. We have a clear Notion of his *Subject*, or what He is discoursing about. We now see these *material* Beings *acted upon*, according to their several Natures; not these *material* Things *transformed* into *Intelligences*, and *becoming* Gods, by their own Power, who were only *Matter*, and had no *Intelligence* *before*; as we find them represented in the *Cosmogonies* of *Paganism*. Nor those other Beings, which never had Existence, as *Satyrs, Nymphs, Furies, Fawns*, and the

the like. We see Multitudes of *material* Beings placed in such a Situation by the Creator, where they, by his Omnipotent Will and Act, are each of them made *useful*, without ascribing to them *Thought* and *Design*, which cannot belong to *Matter*. The Sun's Rays shine forth, and we perceive them to have Light and Heat; by the Operation of *Heat* upon the great Ocean of *Waters*, and on the Surface of this spacious *Earth*, which absorbeth great Quantities of Fluids, we see Vapours and Mists arise, till they are collected into Clouds, and are suspended there, till they come down in Dews and Showers. Hereby we see the pure Air, cleansed and defecated from those gross, heterogeneous Particles, which were exhaled from different Soils or Surfaces, and which would have embarrassed or damaged its salubrious Nature. But these are not emerging or descending *Gods* or Intelligences, begot or generated out of *material* Principles, in an atheistical, unphilosophical *Theogony*. But they are all the Effects of One God's Operations upon Matter, and his Working by Matter, according to its proper Nature.

3. This Divine Narrative of *Moses* was drawn up in a plain, *popular* Style, adapted for the Information and Edification of all Men. It appeareth to have been designed for the Perusal of Men of all Capacities, and to have been inspired by Divine Benevolence for universal Advantage both of the High and Low. The fair Book of Nature, which all may read in its *present Existence*, and *Excellency*, is opened, as to its *Original*, in Lines as fair; so that its Beauties may not be in Danger of being defaced by any injudicious or impious Conjectures about its Rise and Spring; nor the humble Enquirers be misguided, in Searches into the Original *Author* of this great Volume of Nature, or its *Meaning* and its Use. It is declared not to be *Eternal*, but made in *Time*; it was not jumbled together by *Chance*, but wrought with infinite *Reason* and consummate *Skill* and Design, by the *Energy* of the Divine Will. We may discern also, that there is infinite *Benignity* in designing the whole Fabric, since it is adapted plainly to answer so many useful Ends. Hence we may see the Foundation of all our pious and devout Homage to the Creator. What copious Lectures of Virtue, Piety, and universal Goodness may be deduced from this Account of the Origin of Things, compared with any other Attempt of this Kind?

S E C T. II.

The Mosaic History of the Creation stated.

I NOW go on to consider the History of the Creation of this World, as more particularly laid down, by this celebrated *Hebrew* Prophet, *Moses*.

1. With respect to the Materials out of which God framed this stupendous Fabric. The State of *this Part* of the *material* World, viz. the *Solar System*,

System, was at first that of a *Chaos*, created and prepared by the Almighty. *Moses* tells us *the Earth* was without *Form and Void*, and I suppose the *whole Solar System* was in that Chaotic State, viz. the Sun, Moon and Planets, Fire, or Light, the Air and Water were all in this undistinguished State of Confusion. But the *Earth* is particularly mentioned, as being the Principal Part of the System, whose Original was intended to be explained in this History. And as it was designed for common Perusal, and the Information of the Vulgar, it was drawn up in a popular Manner, to be intelligible to all, yet so as to be consistent with true Philosophy as well as visible Appearances. This Chaos was a great heterogeneous Sphere composed or consisting of all Kinds of Matter, which would be sufficient in Quantity, in their different Densities and Rarefactions, to fill all that Space to which God designed that Chaotic Mass to be extended, in all its different Expansions, in the finished Creation.

Moses indeed says that the *Earth* was *without Form and Void*. But he doth not say that the *Earth Only* was in that State, so that it must probably mean that the whole *Solar System* was comprehended in, and formed out of a Chaos, because most of the remarkable Bodies of this System are expressly mentioned to have been created in the first six successive Days; not only the Earth, but the Sun, Moon and Stars, or *Planets*, which all appear to us on this Earth like Stars.

Again; it would seem that we should understand this literally, that they were all *created* near *together*, or in six successive Days, as *Moses* relates it; because the Work would have been imperfect and incomplete, if it had wanted any of these Bodies, either Sun or Moon or Planets. We may think this Work would have been less perfect without them, since God has now perfected this Frame by creating them all.

Furthermore, *Moses* tells us, that in the *Beginning*, God created Heaven and Earth, i. e. in *these six Days*, therefore the Body of the Earth could not be *first* created at the *same Time* with the Sun and Moon, and then have been reduced by the Shock of a Comet, or other extraordinary Cause, to a *Chaos*, out of which it was afterwards to be formed into its present State. And yet that both the Earth and the Sun should be made in the six Days Work, or in the *Beginning*.

2. Considering that Space is so *vast*, even immense, that Thousands of Worlds might be created in it, so distant from each other, as to be placed out of each other's Sight; and as the Sun, Moon and Earth are mentioned as Parts of the six Days Work, we may therefore probably understand this Account of *Moses* as not comprehending in it, all the Worlds which God might have made, but only the Creation of the *Solar System*, consisting of all the Planetary Worlds and their several Furniture, which range in their respective Orbits round the Sun, as the great Centre of this System. The pious and learned *Bishop Patrick* hints this to be his own Opinion, and I doubt not but that this History of the Creation, tho' drawn up in popular Language, may

may be found to correspond to, or not to be inconsistent with what the best Philosophers have discovered to be the true System of Nature.

3. We may conceive that this heterogeneous, Chaotic Sphere of confused Matter, had not only Matter of a solid Kind *sufficient*, but also *Fluids* enough, compounded therewith, for constituting the Ocean, the Air, the Æther, and the Atmospheres that would be proper for every Orb, within this Solar, Planetary Frame.

4. This great Chaotic Sphere of Matter, with whatever Pores or Spaces of Vacuity there might be in it, for the Conveniency of Motion, would, by its *Essential Property* of Matter, which belonged to every Atom in the whole Mass, namely, its infinite or absolute *Inactivity*, necessarily *rest*, or remain in the *same Space*, where it was created, till *moved* by some other Being. Motion must be superindued and impressed, and was not congenit to Matter in its Nature. The *Epicurean* Fable of the Eternal Hurry and Struggle of material Atoms, is entirely unphilosophical.

5. It is not difficult to conceive, nor impious to suppose, that God, who had the *perfect Idea* of his own *Work*, the *Plan* according to which He would form the whole mighty Fabric, did, in the Act of Creating the Chaos, form a large Mass of more *dense Matter*, to compose that great *Body* which should be placed at the Centre of the System, namely the *Sun*. And that at each Point of any Semidiameter from the *Sun*, which His Wisdom saw to be a proper Distance from each other, He created a proportionable *Mass* for the Bodies of the Planets *Mercury, Venus, the Earth and Moon, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn*. Now, as these more ponderous or denser *Masses* of Matter, might be coetaneous by the Will of God, as the Centres or Foundation Stones of the whole Edifice, so whenever God thought fit to put these great central Bodies into Motion round their own Axis, and ordained the Laws of Gravitation or the central Powers of Attraction, there might be *Fluids* enough about each of these central Bodies, which might be attracted, according to their several Distances from each Planetary *Centre*, out of which to compose their respective *Atmospheres*. And these might all be forming at the same Time, under the same Laws. Again; there might be, in Disunion or light Dispersion, a Multitude of earthy Particles, which upon this Motion of all the circumambient Fluids about the Bodies of these Solar Planets, might be agitated and float in the Water, till it was drained off, or absorbed, and these subsiding from every Point towards the Surface of the Body of the Planet, would produce an uniform Soil or a lighter Earth, like common Earth or Garden Moulds, fit for sowing the Seeds of Vegetables, or in which to plant them, or deposite them by the Creator's Hand; and where afterwards they might, according to the Laws of Vegetation, dilate and grow by the Mixture of Heat and Moisture, into all the Tribes of the Vegetable Creation. Hereby this orderly World would be formed, without supposing such Operoseness as some have pretended to except against, in the common literal Account of

Moses:

Moses: Tho' indeed nothing can be said to be operose to infinite Power, who need but exert the Energy of one Act of the Will to produce any possible Effect.

6. When the Chaotic Materials were thus prepared, in the rude undigested Mass, the Spirit of God, or the *great Wind* which God caused to blow on the Face of the Waters of the Chaos, of which Chaos the Earth was a Part, *the Spirit of God moved on the Face of the Waters*. The judicious Bishop *Patrick* observeth, that there is no Intimation in *Moses*, how long the Efficacy of divine Power moved the Chaotic Surface of Waters, in order to their Fermentation, so that it might be a great while. [*Vid. Patrick in Loc.*] The first Thing that the Creator made, was *Light*. But, as there were the *Semina* of all those Things which constitute the material World, in the *Chaos*, however mixed and undistinguished, in that gross Heap of confused Matter; it seemeth agreeable to this Account, to suppose that *Fire*, or the Particles of *Light* were then in being, tho' inwrapped and entangled with other Matter. And, when God said, *Let there be Light*, it was equivalent to saying, "Let Light appear, let it become visible, or let it break " or shine forth." The Body of the Sun was the Seat where most of those Particles of Light were deposited, and so were ready for Use; and the ALMIGHTY caused them to be disentangled and disunited from the other gross Matter with which they were mingled, and by which they were hidden; and as they were collected and ranged in that luminous Body of the Sun, which was fitted to imbibe them, or was stored with them before; so as soon as they shone forth, they made that to be *Day* on which they shone, while the other Parts to which the Rays did not reach, were yet in *Night*. Bishop *Patrick* says that some have thought, that this first Light was but a dim Light from the Sun, which was not yet perfectly formed.* And our learned *Poole* tells us, that most of the *Hebrew* Commentators were of this Opinion, that it was the *Sun* that was *first made*.† And, if at this time God gave the several Orbs their respective Motions round their own Axis, then each Planetary Body would have Day and Night successively on its Surface: And thus Day and Night, or Light and Darkness were divided, and distinguished from each other.

7. The next Thing which God Almighty commanded was the Firmament of the Heavens, to be a strong Separation of the Waters that were *below* it, as *e. gr.* those which were to be in the Seas, the Ocean, Ponds and Rivers in their natural State of Fluidity, and the Waters which were to be *above* the Firmament, in a more rarefied and expanded State, in Vapours and Clouds, carried thro' the Regions of the Air or Atmosphere. The Waters of the Chaos, or its fluid Parts, were as yet dispersed universally over it. But now the Almighty Creator gave to the several Orbs the Powers of central Attraction, by Means whereof the Gravitations being proportional to the Quantities

* *Patrick in Loc.*

† *Synops. Critic. in Loc.*

ties of Matter attracted, the grosser or heavier Fluids would be all collected and circumfused round their central Globes. And, as this is chiefly an Account of the Creation of our *Earth*, so it is likely that the Atmospheres of all the other Planets, were forming at the same Time, according to the same Laws of Gravitation toward their respective Centres: The grosser Fluids in all of them were subsiding, and the circumambient Space of Air, was clearing and purging, by this precipitating of the more gross Particles which were agitated and floating therein. Hereby, on the second Day, the delightful Element of Air was disentangled and extricated from its Chaotic Mixtures; and this Space of the Firmament, or great *Expanse*, being purged and cleared off, the Sun's Rays which were brought forth into visible Being the first Day, penetrated more easily thro' the lessening Gloom, and made the Air more lucid and serene, thro' all the System, as well as particularly on this Earth and in its Atmosphere.

8. The next Step in the Progress of the Divine Operations, was the separating of the great Mass of Waters from the Surface of the Earth, and collecting them into an appointed Receptacle, such as the Bed of the Ocean, and other Cavities in the Body of the Earth, prepared for their Reception, and as this Effect was produced on this Earth, by the acting of the Laws of Gravitation on Fluids, so the like Change must have been produced on the other Planets where the same Laws took Place. Hereby the dry Land appeared according to the Divine Will. And as this was accomplished on the same Day on which the Expansion of the Air, and its Texture for bearing Clouds and Vapour was completed.* All this may be justly admired, as the *expeditious* Operation of an Almighty Hand, transcending the *Celerity* of the Action of Second Causes.

9. When the Surface of the Earth was thus separated and cleared from the Body of the Waters, which now composed a distinct Surface; the great Author of Beauty and Order immediately covered the Face of the Earth with a lovely Carpet of Grass and Flowers; He created also Plants and Trees, and raised up all the Vegetable Nations. At his high Command, the barren Ground, freed from so many embarrassing Mixtures, was overspread with the Verdure of the Meadows, the Bloom and Lustre of Flowers, and the Fragrance of Fruits, all produced, not by the *slow* Laws of common Vegetation, but in *instantaneous* Maturity, the beautiful and fragrant Creatures of a Day. This was the Work of the third Day, *Gen. i. 13*. A very learned Commentator mentions some Queries on the Operations of the third Day, Whether *Moses* enumerates all that were on that Day executed or not? He cites some Writers who deny it; asserting, first, That the Creation of *Paradise* was on this Day. *Qui hoc Die plantatus ornatusque Arborum varietate est, & pulchritudine.*† There are others who judge it probable that, because God perfectly formed and adorned the Earth on the third Day, that *Marbles, Metals,*

* *Gen. i. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.* † [Vid. *Hottinger. Kliois. εἰς ἀμερ.* Pap. 116.]

Metals, Minerals, and all the Species of *Fossils* with which the liberal Creator has enriched the Bowels of the Mountains, were produced on this Day. But *Hottinger* queries, "*Cur non hæc ad primam Diem referantur, tanquam Molis* "*Partes. hujus inferioris Terræ? Quamquam non negem magnam inter hæc* "*Terræ Viscerum, & ipsius superficiei Ornamenta, esse Analogiam.*" — Finally; some Commentators, particularly *Cornelius a Lapide*, referreth the making of the Winds to this Day, "because, by the Winds, the Earth and "all the living Things upon it, are ventilated, and the pure Air is inspired, "without which neither could the Plants grow, nor could Animals or Men "live."

10. The Air being thus cleared, and its Structure fitted for the transmitting of Light, then it is related by *Moses*, that God said, Let there be *Lights*, or luminous Bodies, *Enlighteners*, seen in the Firmament of Heaven, to divide the Day from the Night, and let them be for Signs and for Seasons, for Days and Years, ver. 14. And God made two great Lights, the greater Light to rule the Day, and the lesser Light to rule the Night. Now this is spoke in popular Phrase, to express Things according to vulgar Apprehensions and visible Appearances. But these could not be *Luminaries* or *Enlighteners*, till the Rays of the Sun could have penetrated thro' the Ether, to illuminate the *Opake* Globes of the Planets, and till those fainter Rays could have been reflected with a sufficient Vividness, to be distinctly discerned from each Planet to another. It is not said that God had made none of these Bodies before this fourth Day, but that these particular *Uses* of them were not declared or manifested before this Day. And tho' these *Opake* Globes had existed from the first Day, yet they could not be *Luminous*, till after the Ether or Atmosphere was thus purified and refined, so as to transmit the Rays thro' it, to the Earth. The Beams of the Sun might penetrate the gloomy Concave of the Atmosphere with *Heat*, which might have concocting and fermenting Effects, before they could have illuminating Effects. As we see still, thick Clouds will intercept the Sun Beams in such a manner from our Sight, that the Sun's Body shall become invisible, even when we shall be sensible of a very sultry and dissolving Warmth in such a close and gloomy Season. This seemeth to be the Reason why they are not said to be placed in the Firmament as *Luminaries*, till the fourth Day. For, tho' the Bodies of the Planets, and even that of the Sun himself, were severally poised in their Places, the Sun at the Centre of the System, and the rest in their respective Planetary Stations, yet they were not made luminous, or could have the Office of *illuminating*, before the Ether was sufficiently clarified, and purged from its gross caliginous Mixtures, whereby it was become a Medium capable of transmitting Light thro' its transparent Texture. This one may conceive to be the proper Time, for their being named *Luminaries*, and their *Uses* being specified, since the fourth Day was the first Moment that these *Uses* could be observed, and begin to take place. And it is further observed by Bishop *Patrick*, that this

fixing the heavenly Bodies is so often repeated here, to obviate those corrupt Sentiments, which had in *Moses's* Time so notoriously prevailed, of paying Idolatrous Worship to the Host of Heaven. And, finally, it is subjoined, that *He made the Stars also*, which was not probably the Work of any of the six Days, (except such Parts as were of the Solar System) unless that they, as well as every other Luminary, then, became visible, on the Account of this Clarification of the Atmospheres within the Solar System.

11. On the fifth Day, which was after the Sun, the Earth and Planets were fixed, the Body of the Earth dried, the Ocean diffused, and the Air cleared, so that this Part of the Creation could be useful for the Accommodation of different Beings endued with animal Life; then Divine Power produced the animal Creation, of unspeakable Variety, Beauty and Use, diversified with such different Properties that every Species and Tribe may be called a distinct Creation. There is an observable Gradation in these progressive Works of the divine Hand, from the more simple and plain, to the more accurate and exquisite Productions. Out of the Waters the Divine Power produced the Fowls of the Air and the Fishes of the Sea, which had no doubt something of a similar Structure in their Flesh, and especially in the Formation of their Bodies; they had analogous Excellencies which fitted them for moving thro' different fluid Mediums, the Water and Air. Their Organs and the Shape of their Bodies were exactly suited to each, being furnished with Fins to cut their Way thro' the Water; and with Wings of larger Dimensions in Proportion to their several Bulks, to bear them readily thro' a much rarer Fluid, that of the Air.

But tho' God caused them to be produced in the Water, yet we are not to suppose that He left it to Second Causes to operate in their Production by depositing their *Ova* or Spawn there: For the Process was too *expeditious*, to have any Parallel to it in the ordinary Operations of Nature. God Almighty formed them at first, probably many Pairs of every Species, in their perfect State of Maturity, and then imparted to them a Power and Propension to propagate their Kind, in perpetual Succession; and He accordingly pronounced upon them the Benediction of Fruitfulness, *Gen. i. 22.* And this was the Work of the fifth Day.

12. On the sixth Day all the Species of Land-Animals were brought into being. *Moses* relateth that these were produced from the *Earth*, as the Fowls and Fishes were from the *Waters*. And tho' the Creator could have inverted this Order, and have produced the Quadrupeds out of the Waters, and the Fowls from the dry Land; yet He chose to make use of the most fit Materials with which to work, and to carry on all his Divine Operations with the greatest Wisdom and *Benevolence*. Had the *Fishes* been created on the *Dry Land*, their Beginning of Existence would have been *miserable* to them, and attended with great Danger, before they could, with such inconvenient Organs, have reached the Element for which they were fitted. And had many

many of the Land-Animals been produced in the Sea, they must have undergone parallel Inconveniencies in getting to the dry Land, as particularly Sheep and most of the woolly Species. But the *Benignity* of the Father of all Things appeareth even in these his *first Acts*, towards the *sensitive* Creation. He made the *Fishes* in the *Waters*, where they were accommodated, as soon as they were in Being, with what was most proper for them. He made the *Land-Animals* upon the Surface of the *Earth*, where they would find a proper Plain for the using of their new-received Organs, and *easily* following their natural Instincts. What an admirable Instance of Divine Goodness here presenteth itself to our View ! That the Sovereign Parent of the Universe would not exercise one Act of *Sovereignty*, even in making the Animal World for *one Moment unhappy*, according to the Natures he had given them, which He could as easily make *happy* at first.—And it must be further observed, that these Productions must have been the immediate, deliberate Acts of Divine Love ; for as Dr. Bentley has judiciously remarked, “ It is impossible, as physical Experiments have proved, that any perfect Species of Animals, either naturally or accidentally can be produced, by any Preparation of Matter, or any Influence of the Heavens, without the Intervention of the Almighty.” *

13. After having given so distinct an Account of the Formation of the material World, in such an *orderly Succession* ; such, as that it could not *well* have been in any *other* Order, without one Part's interfering with and spoiling another. For the Body of the Earth must have been made first ; then the Water cleared off to leave the Land dry ; then the Air and Atmosphere for transmitting Light, and bearing Vapour, and affording vital Breath to Animals. Then the Coming of Light and Heat to this World. Then the whole Produce of the Vegetable Creation, which might be ready for the Accommodation of Animals, which are to subsist by that Food. Thus far the whole seems to be insensible and mechanical. But then Animals were made ; which, by their Nature, would have Occasion for, and would make use of all these previous Productions.—Yet still the World was manifestly imperfect without MAN. The highest that was hitherto produced, was the material, inert Creation, and the sensitive One. The most noble Being, the rational intellectual Nature, was yet wanting among the Inhabitants of this World. To denote the singular Excellency of his Nature, *Moses* introduceth the Account of Man's Creation with some Apparatus, *Let US make MAN in OUR Image*, as if there had been a Consultation among the three Divine Persons, previous to this Transaction. This we are not however to understand, to intimate that there was any more Difficulty to the Deity in making Man, than in making a Fly ; but to engage *us*, to whom this History is *related*, to pay a greater *Attention* to the superior *Excellency* of our intellectual Nature, and more carefully to *consider* it. He was a compound Being, consisting

sisting of Body and Soul, and his spiritual or rational Part was impressed with the Image of God, not only in Reason and active Powers, or having the Dignity of a moral Agent, but also in being furnished with those Faculties which would qualify him for maintaining a Dominion over the inferior Creatures. Now this Account giveth us a magnifying Idea of our own Nature, very different from what can be gathered from any Fables of *Paganism*. It instructeth us to set an answerable Value on our native Dignity, so as to stoop to nothing *below* our exalted, spiritual Rank.

And now, when Man was formed in full Maturity of Body and Mind, capable of the Felicities of social Union, with Powers and Propensions for propagating their Species, He pronounced a particular Benediction on them, for their Increase and Multiplication; and *directed* them to the Delicacies of Nature for their outward Provisions, which were more highly *concocted* and refined, agreeable to the *higher* Refinement of their bodily Frame, above that of Brutes. What Things they were thus directed to, were the tender Herbs bearing a visible Seed, which they could, by *sowing* this Seed, *preserve* in a due Cultivation for their own Use; which Grant must comprehend all Sorts of useful Grain, with all Kinds of delicious and wholesome Fruits. He bounteously allowed all the Grass and Herbs of the Field for the Sustenance of the inferior Animals, which they were to chuse by Instinct, according to their several Natures; so that all were happy.

Having now finished the six Days Work of Creation, the Sovereign Parent and Lord of all gave a *Law* to the moral, intellectual Part, namely to Man; that he might be put in Mind of his Dependance and Obligations; and act accordingly in the right Use of his rational Powers; as all the material Worlds were governed by the Laws of Mechanism; and the animal World by unerring Instinct; whereby all the Creation might be conducted orderly and decently, as became this great Family of God. He subjoined to all, the Institution of the *Sabbath*, as perpetually memorial of his own Operation and Supremacy; and that *Mankind* might set out from the *Beginning*, with *Religion*, and all the Decorums of the Relation in which they stood to himself.

I have thus finished the Consideration of the *Mosaic* History of the Creation. And upon a Comparison of this with the *Cosmogonies* of the *Heathen*, its superior Excellency will be most apparent. What a singular Propriety in the Order and Progress of the Work may be here observed? What a plain Regularity even to a common Understanding is here obvious! and what a singular Grandeur in the Finishing! But, on the contrary, what obscure and frigid Accounts doth ancient *Paganism* afford? What jejune and precarious Conjectures, and what empty and unsatisfying Fables are they all? They impart no *noble Sentiments* of God or Man; they do not naturally lead us to any rational *Veneration* for a Supreme Being; nor to any due Sense of the *Dignity* of our *own Nature*; nor to a Sense of that *Homage* we owe to the great *Author* of
of

of all Things, the Parent of Reason, and Virtue, and Goodness, of Order and Happiness in the World.

I have set before my Readers the *Heathen* Histories of the Generation of the World, or their *Traditions*, *Conjectures* or *Fables* on that Subject, as far as I could collect them from their most celebrated, ancient Authors. And I have stated the Particulars of the *Mosaic* History of that most important Event, in order to an easy Comparison of both together. And, upon this Comparison, I doubt not but my Conclusion will be made out obviously; *namely*, that theirs were all very obscure, mean and ignoble, and that of *Moses* clear and intelligible, credible and unspeakably noble.

Moses all along appeareth in Character, as an *Original* Writer, and as an *inspired* One. He quotes no Authors for his Authorities, but proceedeth thro' the whole Work like a Writer who had an absolute Satisfaction in his Evidences, and demands Assent, with an Air of Authority, which such Divine Intelligence would authorize. He writeth as one who was as authentically informed of what passed BEFORE *Adam*, (of which Transactions it was simply impossible that there could be any Human History or Tradition) as of what passed in the Garden of *Eden*, or at the Flood, or at *Sinai*, or in *Egypt*, or the Wilderness, where he was an Eye-witness.—He doth not like *Herodotus* write as a Traveller, who gathered his Intelligence from the Reports of a Variety of Countries, thro' which he travelled for Information. Nor like *Pausanias*, from ancient Statues, sepulchral Monuments, or national Traditions, which he met with up and down, in his Journeys of learned Curiosity thro' *Greece*. Much less did he resemble *Ctesias*'s Manner of writing History, who dishonoured every Page with unsynchronal Fables, that confute themselves, by their being wholly incongruous to the Age of the World when they are said to be done. *Moses* most probably wrote in the Wilderness, (after he had been instructed in Writing) all the Books of the *Pentateuch*, *Genesis*, and the Beginning of *Exodus*, as well as the rest, which was contemporary History, that is, the History of his own Times. As to the Character of his Work, his Story is grand and majestic, his Narration is noble, and yet simple. When he relateth a Miracle, he owns it to be a Wonder of *God*'s working; and when he relates Events, as coming about by the ordinary Course of Things, they are all natural, synchronal to the Age they belong to, as well as the Country, in all Circumstances most credible and probable.

C H A P. IX.

On the Antiquity of the National Histories of the Pagan World.

HAVING finished the Examination of the *Cosmogonies of Paganism*, in Comparison with the *Genesis of Moses*; I shall next consider the pretended Antiquity of their National Histories: By which it may appear what Probability there is of their having had any such National History of great Antiquity, among any of them.—And I shall begin with the *Assyrian* Antiquities, and enquire whether there could be any ancient *Assyrian* Records, which could be contemporary with the Actions, or that could be wrote in the Age when the Actions were said to be done.—In order to the clearest Discussion of this Point, I shall observe as followeth.

S E C T. I.

There could not probably be Writing in Assyria much before Solomon.

1. THERE could be no *Assyrian* Records in Alphabetical Writing, before the celebrated *Jewish* Legislator's Days. I shall, from what I have said on this Subject, suppose the Probability to be already proved, that the World was wholly ignorant of *Letters*, before that eminent *Epocha*, the giving the Law at Mount *Sinai*. And then there could be no written *Assyrian* Records before that Age, nor any contemporary Records of *Ninus* or *Semiramis*, which could be wrote down, during either of their Reigns.

2. Tho' it might be possible that the *Assyrians* might come to a Knowledge of Writing, soon after the Time of giving the Law to the *Hebrews* at Mount *Sinai*, yet it is greatly improbable. We have many Instances of whole Nations, who have been long without Letters, in Ages where they have been very familiar among their neighbouring States. And a like Incuriosity is to this Day to be observed as to the Art of *Printing*; for it has not yet reached the nearest Provinces of the *Turkish* Empire in *Asia* or *Afric*.—The Traduction of the Art of Writing I have also distinctly considered, and shewn that it could not probably have much Circulation till the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. And it must, in all likelihood, make a slower Progress towards *Assyria*. For,

(1.) The Distance in Situation was so great from the Borders of *Jordan* to the *Tigris*, that they would not be like to have any frequent Correspondence. The *Assyrians* do not appear to have extended their Conquests Westward, nor did

did the *Hebrews* go Eastward, till *David* pushed his Victories to the *Euphrates*, 2 *Sam.* viii. 3. and x. 16.

(2.) The Commerce must have been small betwixt *Judæa* and *Assyria* in those Ages. The Countries were probably of similar Productions, each abounding in Corn, Cattle and Wool. Wherefore there would have been little Occasion for seeking a Correspondence between such remote, inland Parts. The peculiar Product of *Arabia*, its Spices and the like, would go another Way to *Assyria*, than thro' *Judæa*; so that the Commerce would be little, nor would the *Jews* be the Merchants. I therefore conclude, that, as *They* could not be induced by *Gain* to cultivate any Correspondence with the *Jews*, so no Curiosity about Letters would be like to engage them to study an Acquaintance with them, before they became more common in other neighbouring Nations.

(3.) But when the *Hebrew* Nation was so formidable by *David's* Arms even beyond the *Euphrates*, and so eminent by *Solomon's* Improvements in all polite Arts and Sciences, the Citizens and Court of *Nineveh* might from their Neighbours the *Syrians*, who were situated betwixt the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, get Intelligence of these *Arts*, which were become the Subject of Conversation, and Admiration among the adjacent Nations, towards the West.

But it seems a very natural Progress that this Art should be slower in its Advances in *Assyria*, which was in Situation so remote, than in the Countries in Vicinity to, and in Intercourse with *Judæa*. The *Syrians*, which inhabited in the *Euphratian* Provinces, might have Business in *Jerusalem*, either by carrying their Tributes to the *Hebrew* Court, or entering into Treaties with that People, 2 *Sam.* x. 19. And, when all the Kings, that were Servants to *Hadadezer*, saw that they were smitten before *Israel*, they made PEACE with *Israel*, and SERVED them. Hereby there would be some Correspondence betwixt *Israel* and these conquered Nations that lived about the *Euphrates*, so that in *Solomon's* Reign they might hear much of his Grandeur and the Fame of his Wisdom, and of all the Arts which flourished among that improving, prosperous People. For they were near Neighbours, and in full Peace. By the History of *David's* Wars which are recorded, 2 *Sam.* the 8th and 10th Chapters, it seems plain that all the Nations adjacent to *Judæa*, not only the *Moa-bites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and *Philistines* were little, independent States, situated in the different borders of *Canaan*; but also that the *Syrians*, or *Aramites*, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, *Damascus* and *Mesopotamia* were divided into separate Kingdoms; that the Kingdom or Province of *Zobah* was the most considerable among them, and that the rest of them were in some Kind of Subjection to *Hadadexer* King of *Zobah*, either as Tributaries, or as standing Confederates in his Wars. For the Kings that were Servants to *Hadadexer* are mentioned, 2 *Sam.* x. 19. He had Territories beyond the *Euphrates*, 2 *Sam.* x. 16. *Hadadexer* sent and brought out the *Syrians* that were beyond the River. Other Particulars intimate that he must have been a considerable

fiderable Prince for Wealth and Grandeur, for *Shields of Gold* were taken in his Army, which were probably those which himself, or some of his principal Officers made use of, 2 *Sam.* viii. 7.—But yet, it appears further, that these little Heads of those adjacent, separate States, had a good Degree of Independency. For we are told, 2 *Sam.* x. 19. when *all the Kings*, that were *Servants to Hadadexer*, saw that they were smitten before *Israel*, they made *Peace* with *Israel* and *served them*; that is, they paid them some Tribute.—*Hadadexer* is a Name similar to that, which the *Assyrian* Monarchs were afterwards called by, and compounded in the same Manner. *Hadadassar*, as *Tiglath Pileser*, *Pal-assar*, *Salmanezar*, &c. And if we may here be indulged in a Conjecture, may it not be supposed that *Hadadexer* was at that Time the King of *Nineveh*, which was the Capital of *Assyria*. That he had made some Progress in his Conquests Westward, and had got great Power and Interest in *Zobah*, so as already to be called *King* of it. He had also made some Attempts upon *Hamath*, 2 *Sam.* viii. 10. Now the *Hebrew* Armies and Historians might be apt enough to call him *King of Zobah*, which was a Kingdom on their own Confines, from which Situation he was most formidable to them; rather than King of *Nineveh* or *Assyria*, whom it may be, they had heard little of before. But these late Conquests would make him considerable soon, as his Borders were thus stretching nearer to them. And further it appears from *Psal.* lx. which, from the Title, it is manifest was composed on this Occasion, that *David* was not without some Apprehensions of Danger from these combined Forces of the *Syrians* of *Zobah* and *Mesopotamia*. But it must be further observed that, when these petty Princes would no longer maintain the Confederacy with *Hadadexer* in his War, but on the contrary made *Peace*, and *served them*, or became Tributaries to *David*. It is added, 2 *Sam.* x. 19. The *Syrians* feared to help the Children of *Ammon*, any more. Now these *Syrians* who feared to help *Ammon*, could not, I apprehend, be those *Syrian* Kingdoms who had made Peace, and were become Tributaries; but they must be *Hadadexer* and his own Army, who might now retire towards *Nineveh*, and lay aside all his Designs against either *Hamath* or *Judæa*, or to foment the War any longer on that Side, by Alliances with *Ammon*. Accordingly, we hear no more of any Armies from beyond the *Euphrates*, nor had *David* any Interruption in the Siege of *Rabbah*, the Capital of the *Ammonites*, in the following Year, or in his Prosecution of the War with the *Edomites*, 2 *Sam.* xi. 1.—By all these evident Circumstances in the Situation of their Affairs, it will appear very probable that the *Assyrians* must have been among the latest in their Acquaintance with the *Jewish* Arts and Sciences. For, as they came into no Correspondence, but by this War; and this was terminated in Disgrace, both by many Defeats in the Field, and by the Desertion of their Allies in Consequence thereof, so I think *Hadadexer* or his Successors came no more this Way in several Ages. And, tho' there might be some curious Persons of obscure Rank, who might obtain the

the Knowledge of this curious Art of *Writing* in *Jerusalem*; yet considering the Resentment and Disgrace with which the *Assyrians* retreated from that dishonourable War, it is not likely that any Persons of Distinction would resort to *Jerusalem*, or pretend to bring any Improvements from thence to the *Assyrian* Court at *Nineveh*. This accounteth for it, that they would be slow in their entertaining Curiosities from an hated Country. Their Resentment and Chagrin would hinder them from esteeming them, as they came from *Judæa*. Then their Pride, and Contempt of *new* Customs, would farther hinder their paying much Regard to this new Art of WRITING, however extraordinary it might be; both as it was *new*, and also as it was of *Jewish* Original.

I think, therefore, that we must allow a longer Time for the Circulating this Art in *Assyria*, than in many other Countries; both on the Account of the Distance in Situation, and these National Prejudices and Disgusts. If some obscure Citizens of *Nineveh* might (as I said) make themselves Masters of *Letters*, out of private Curiosity, yet it would be long before they could have Interest enough to introduce the Practice into the Court, to write Public National Records. So that, if there might have been some Knowledge of Letters in *Assyria* by the End of *Solomon's* Reign, it may be reasonably presumed that it would not come into Use among the great Men about the Court, till several Reigns after. The next *Assyrian* Prince, that we hear any Mention of, is *Pul* or *Belus*, who came against the Land of *Israel* in the Reign of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and *Menabem* King of *Israel*, 2 *Kings* xv. 19. And it is very probable that, if the *Assyrians* were considerable by their Conquest of the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, in *David's* Reign; yet, as their Allies all deserted them, in the End of that War, and they retired; so they, being but in the Infancy of their Power, gave no Disturbance to the Western Nations for many Ages. For, in the Reign of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* oppressed *Judah*; and in the Reign of *Asa*, 1 *Kings* xv. 18. the King of *Syria* of *Damascus* was applied to, as a potent Prince, on whose Alliance *Asa* depended against *Israel*. And, in the Reign of *Joash* King of *Judah*, the Kingdom of *Damascus* was still formidable; for *Joash*, by a great Sum of Money, hired the *Syrian* Monarch to withdraw his Forces, which threatened *Jerusalem*, 2 *Kings* xii. 18.—From all these Considerations it seems highly probable that *Letters* would scarce arrive at *Assyria*, much sooner than the Days of *Pul*. And it is a surprizing Coincidence, that the Time, which we assign for the introducing of Letters into *Assyria*, should be so near the Beginning of the *Nabonassarean* *Æra*. From that Time they certainly had Records among them. Now that there should be no Account of *Assyrian* Affairs before the Age of *Nabonassar*, except what is in *Ctesias*; and that, from that Time, their succeeding Memoirs should be so considerable, looks as if they would have wrote sooner, had they attained the Knowledge of that Art to any Perfection;

fection; and which their Pride would not suffer them to condescend to, till so many other Nations had found the Conveniency of it.

But now supposing, but not granting, that they had some Knowledge of *Letters* before this Period; yet there is no *Evidence* of their having had any Records of the ancient Times of their Monarchy; but great *Suspensions* to the contrary.

SECTION II.

No Assyrian Records before Nabonassar.

I. **T**IS generally allowed by the Learned, that all the Accounts, which we have of profane *Assyrian* Antiquity, depend on the single Authority of *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*. He accompanied the younger *Cyrus* in his Expedition from *Lesser Asia*, where he was Governor of the *Persian* Provinces, against his Brother *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, who was come to the Throne of *Persia*. He was taken Prisoner in that Action, where *Cyrus* fell; and, upon curing the King of a Wound, he came into such Favour, as to be entertained as Physician to the *Persian* Royal Family, where he stayed seventeen Years, as *Diodorus Siculus* informeth us. This (I think) is a Proof that he came back to *Greece* after seventeen Years, for it would scarce have been recorded in *Persia*, when he died. The Learned Writers, Sir *John Marsham*, *Du Pin*, Professor *Jameson*, and Sir *Isaac Newton*, all agree in this, that *Ctesias* is the Original Writer on which all depend, who differ from *Herodotus*.—Sir *John Marsham* says, “That *Ctesias* led a great many eminent
“ Writers into Mistakes as to the Builder of *Babylon*, particularly, viz. that
“ it was *Semiramis*. Among the *Greeks*, besides *Diodorus*, *Theocritus*, *Strabo*,
“ and *Dionysius Periegetes*; among the *Latins*, *Ovid*, *Trogus*, *Mela*, *Solinus*,
“ &c. But (says he) all these, how many soever they be, have but one Au-
“ thor, namely, *Ctesias* to depend on.” *

The celebrated Sorbonist Dr. *Louis Dupin*, in his Historical Library, alleges to the same Purpose, “That *Diodorus* wholly, and most other Histo-
“ rians and Chronologists, as *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* have chiefly
“ followed his Chronology of *Assyrian* Kings, in which they have been imi-
“ tated and followed by most modern Chronologers.” †

Professor *Jameson* of *Glasgow* clearly falls in with the same Sentiments; for, says he, all these boasted *Assyrian* Antiquities derive all their Weight and Credibility from one Author, viz. *Ctesias*, who will be demonstrated to be of the lightest Authority. *Diodorus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Velleius Paterculus*,
and

* *Marsham. Canon. Chronic. ad Sec. 17. p. 507. apud Me* — Illi autem, quotquot sint, Omnes unum *Ctesiam* auctorem habent.

† *Dupin, Historic. Librar. Vol. II. Engl. Translat. p. 70.*

and almost the whole Tribe of Historians have followed *this Ctesias*.* *Tota pene Natio Historicorum.*

"*Ctesias* writ his *Persica* in 23 Books. In the first six he described the History of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, and all that passed before the Establishment of the Kingdom of *Persia*. The seventeen last contained the whole *Persian* Story from *Cyrus* to his own Age." This is the Account which *Photius*, in his *Bibliothèque*, giveth of this Author and his Work.†

But, since *Photius* has given no Extract of his first six Books, even that Omission would seem to intimate that the most learned Patriarch had but a mean Opinion of them. And one may conjecture that *Photius's* Knowledge of the Old Testament History, led him to disdain this Account of those unnatural, unsynchronal Millions in Arms, so soon after the Flood. This first Part would therefore have been lost, unless *Diodorus Siculus* and some other later Historians had given us an Abridgment of them in their Writings.

Ctesias has been certainly disesteemed by many great Men, both Ancients and Moderns, as a fabulous Writer. *Aristotle*, who was almost his Contemporary, accuseth him of lying in several Places; and says, that he doth not deserve any Credit. " *Antigonus Carystius*, who lived in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, repeateth the Charge of *Aristotle*, that he frequently lieth. " And *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, several times calls him a *vain Man* " and *notorious Liar*. *Lucian* and *Arrian* represent him as an Author not to " be depended on. And, finally, *Photius* himself observeth, that he accused " *Herodotus* and others of relating Fables, a Crime he was most notoriously " chargeable with. And, among the Moderns, *Scaliger* calls him the little " *ridiculous Greek*, who did not care what he said, so he did but contradict " *Herodotus*.‡

His Apologists, indeed, as *Stephens* and *Huberus*, alledge that these Accusations of the Ancients chiefly refer to his *Indian* History, and the monstrous Accounts which he gave of the different Species and Tribes of Monsters, which must have been judged to be Absurdities and Fictions in Natural History. And yet allowing that these were the Falsehoods chiefly imputed to him, yet, since he related these *Oriental* Wonders, as what he had either seen himself, or had the Accounts of them from Eye-witnesses, this must demonstrate him to have been either a very fabulous, or a very credulous Person. When he relateth such incredible Wonders, even concerning his own Age, and a Country he pretended in Part to have seen; how can he be depended on, in giving an Account of the very *Primordia* of the *Assyrian* Monarchy, when he is not to be trusted, as to the Things of his own Age?

O 2

2. I shall

* Hæ tantopere jactatæ Antiquitates totum suum Pondus & Certitudinem, ab uno *Ctesia*, Authore ut postea patebit, levissimo, derivant. *Jameson. Spicileg.* p. 54.

† Vid. *Stephens. Ctesias*, in the Edit. of *Herodotus*.

‡ Vid. *Dupin. Hist. Libr.* Book 1. Sect. 30. Vol. II.

2. I shall next enquire (since we have found the only Original Author) whether there could be any Materials for Records of such a durable Nature, as to last from the Days of *Ninus* to the Reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, so as to be legible at that Time? This is one Rule of Criticism formerly laid down; for this would be a Space of near Two thousand Years. We have (I think) from this Consideration, a violent Presumption, that there could have been no *Assyrian* Records in their Originals, from which these Extracts of *Ctesias* could be made. And, if he could not have Access to the Originals, there can be no Dependence on the *Antiquity* or *Veracity* of his Memoirs. The Copies, which he saw, might, for any Thing we know, not have been a Century old. If he did not transcribe from Originals, the Copies might have passed thro' the Hands of many Editors, as little scrupulous, as we suspect *Ctesias* himself to have been; and we are under no Necessity of supposing him to have been the first Author of Fables in the *East*.

3. Another Enquiry, according to our Rules of Criticism proposed for judging of an ancient Writer, is this, "Is there any Probability that *Ctesias* should ever have seen any of these Original *Assyrian* Records, even on the Supposition that there ever had been any of these remote Ages?" I think not. He was a very incompetent Authority to rely on, in all Respects. He was a *Foreigner*, and not likely to be acquainted with the ancient *Assyrian* Tongue. He was a *Modern*, in Comparison of the Ages of which he wrote; so that he could have little Help in explaining any Obscurities, or Intricacies in old Records by any *Traditions*. He lived but seventeen Years in *Persia*, and was, during all that Time, a Physician, Attendant on the *Persian* Court and Royal Family. He was not, therefore, like to have much Leisure, to travel very far from the Residence of the Court. Nor to have the Opportunity of visiting the Ruins of *Nineveh*, or other ancient Palaces, or Temples, to get Intelligence of any Records, Columns or Inscriptions, which might be buried in those magnificent Ruins.

Again; according to *Ctesias's* own Account, *Sardanapalus* burnt the ancient Palace of *Nineveh*, where his Ancestors had so long resided, with all his Treasures deposited therein. So that the Conquerors could not have an Opportunity of preserving many Records, had they had any such Curiosity. As the Palace would have been the likeliest Repository for such venerable Monuments, they must all have perished in that Conflagration. And all other Historians agree, that *Nineveh* was burnt to the Ground, and reduced to utter Ruins by the Conquerors; whoever they were, and in whatever Age that Catastrophe happened. Now, if all the Temples and Public Buildings, as well as the Royal Palace, were converted into one Heap of Desolation, it is reasonable to suppose that no Records could escape the Flames, or the other Havock of a destroying, exasperated, victorious Army.

4. More fully to clear this Point, I observe, that there is no Probability, that the Conquerors and new Masters of the *Assyrian* Empire would take
much

much Care of the Genealogies of the ancient Line of the former Kings, to which they were no way related in Blood : Or that they would have any Concern to preserve the *Records* of the great Actions of the ancient Princes of the conquered Countries. If they had not perished in the Conflagration of the ancient Palaces or Temples, yet they would have been utterly *disregarded*, and even despised by the Conquerors. They not only set up *new* Families, but even *new* Nations, whose Glory was no way connected with that of the ancient Line. On the contrary, they might affect to expunge their Memory, lest they should eclipse the Successor's Glory. *Syncellus* seemeth to assign this as the Cause of the Scantiness of the *Affyrian* Records, before the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, even the Envy of *Nabonassar* himself, who, as *Syncellus** insinuateth, "destroyed the Records of former Reigns, that the National Accounts might begin from himself." This Hint however implies that *Syncellus* believed the *Affyrian* Memoirs were very scanty ; I believe so, with *Syncellus*, but I assign their Poverty of Records to another Cause, *namely*, that they had no competent Knowledge, till a little before *Nabonassar's* Reign, of the Use of Letters in *Affyria*. Now, tho' *Syncellus* seems to cite this Account from *Polybistor* and *Berosus*, yet as *Perizonius* justly observes, it must be a vain Attempt, by this mean, to hope to blot out the Memory of the former Kings. For those who were his near Predecessors must be too perfectly in Men's Memories to be expunged by such an arbitrary, envious Act ; and would be easily recovered after his Death.† But I question not that the Scantiness of their Records before *Nabonassar*, and the Series of their History from his Reign, was owing, and is to be ascribed to the Reason we have suggested, *viz.* their having no *Writing* much, if any Time, *before* that Reign.

5. In Reality we find no *Curiosity* about Records among ancient Conquerors, till the Days of *Cambyfes* the Son of *Cyrus* ; who is the first Conqueror, mentioned in History, for valuing this Kind of Royal Plunder, when he carried away the *Egyptian* Records. What might put *Cambyfes* upon this new *Curiosity* is not related, and therefore nothing but Conjecture can be offered upon it. But I think it might probably be owing to that Knowledge which the *Babylonians* had acquired from the *Hebrews*, in Antiquity, during the seventy Years Captivity ; and especially as *Daniel* had been so long a great Minister for several successive Reigns. He continued even to the Days of *Cyrus*, who had been an active General in the Days of *Nebuchadnezzar* himself in the *Median* Army, in Alliance with the *Babylonians* against *Affyria* ; and so *Daniel* might have been well known to *Cyrus*, and perhaps to *Cambyfes*.

Now the *Jewish Captives* might have some Copies of the *Pentateuch*, or the other *Jewish Scriptures*, very probably, in their own Keeping, such as *Daniel*;

* *Syncell.* Chronogr. p. 207. τὰς πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἀφανίσαι, ut ita esset ab ipso ἡ καθ'αριθμῆσιν τῶν Καλδαίων βασιλέων.

† *Perizon.* Origin. *Babylon.* p. 338.

Daniel, and some other principal Captives, tho' the victorious Princes disregarded them. Hereby many of these Captives, being some of them the greatest Men, in that vast Empire, for Learning as well as Power, might impart considerable Knowledge in Chronology and History to the inquisitive *Chaldeans* and *Persians*. Nor is it any Wonder that the greatest Natives should be proud to learn from Prime Ministers. And it is particularly remarkable that *Daniel* was always in Danger, when the wise Men of *Babylon* were so, by the capricious Edicts of those arbitrary Monarchs, if they forgot a Dream, or wanted an Interpretation, or the like.

Daniel or the other Captives might inform them that they had very ancient Books and Records among them, out of which they collected such a distinct Knowledge of all Things from the Beginning of the World;—and this might put *Cambyfes* on this Kind of Curiosity, in his *Egyptian* Expedition. But there was no Curiosity of this Kind at the taking of *Jerusalem*, of which there is any Hint in the *Hebrew* Scriptures, which (probably) would have been mentioned, had there been any such Thing. The City and Temple were indeed spoiled, the Gold and Silver, the Treasures and Vessels that were of Value, either for the Curiosity of their Workmanship, or the Costliness of their Materials, were seized as Royal Plunder; but no Notice is taken of their carrying away even one Copy of the Law, or any other Records, or National Memoirs.

Now, as *Nineveh* was taken by the same Conquerors, and some Years before *Jerusalem*, if they had begun to set a Value on this Kind of Spoils, as at *Nineveh*, they would not have been like to have discontinued this Royal Curiosity so soon, when the same Confederates came against *Jerusalem*, which was also the Capital of a very remarkable Monarchy. I therefore conclude that, since there were no Records enquired after at *Jerusalem*, which was soon after the taking of *Nineveh*, so there were none sought for, or preserved in the Destruction of *Nineveh*; and then there could be no authentic ones, so many Ages after, from which *Ctesias* could extract his History of the primitive Affairs of *Assyria*.

6. The History of *Ctesias* is so unnatural, that it cannot be allowed to have been extracted from any genuine, or even very *ancient* Records. For Fables themselves could not have been so bold at first, as to be so obviously repugnant to the Course of Nature. But the Actions of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* are absolutely incongruous to the Course of Nature; because they are unsynchro-
nal to the Age of the World, when they are said to have happened. By the thirty Successions from *Ninyas*, according to *Ctesias's* own Computation, which took up above 1300 Years to *Sardanapalus*, it will bring *Ninus's* Reign to about the Age after *Nimrod*, according to the Chronology of *Moses*. But it is plain that such great Armies in that Age of the World, so near the Flood, were impossible; and therefore *Ctesias* could not extract his Narrations from any genuine Records. And this is another Rule of Criticism, by which

which we must judge of the Authenticity of any ancient History, its being congruous, or repugnant, to the natural Circumstances of the Age, concerning whose Affairs it treateth.—The History of the *Assyrian* Empire beginning almost from the Infancy of the new World, after the general Deluge, according to the Computations of *Ctesias*, compared with the Chronology of *Moses*. And yet its Armies and its Works were of stupendous Number and Magnitude even at the Beginning.

It must be ever remembered that all those Writers, who have endeavoured to ascertain the *Assyrian* Chronology, have attempted it by synchronizing it with the *Mosaic* Story. *Ctesias* and every other profane Writer were ignorant of the Distance from the general Deluge; and so they perceived no Absurdity in their enormous Numbers in their Armies, or Populousness, or Magnitude of their Cities, in the Age of *Ninus*, any more than in that of *Sardanapalus*, or *Cyrus*, or *Xerxes*. But one would think that those who, by counting the Years of the 30 Successions upwards from the Fall of the *Assyrian* Empire under *Sardanapalus*, to its Rise under *Nerius*, of above thirteen hundred Years Continuance;—one would think, I say, that they could not avoid discerning the Inconsistency of the Numbers in the *Assyrian* Armies with the then unpeopled State of the World; not 300 Years after the Deluge, according to *Moses*.—And yet, according to the learned and laborious Jesuit *Petavius*, *Belus* was the *Nimrod* of *Moses*; who, after a Reign of 65 Years, was succeeded by *Ninus*, the Builder of *Nineveh*, to which City he removed the Seat of his Empire from *Babylon*. That this Prince, after many Wars and great Conquests, died in the 52d Year of his Reign; and was succeeded by that matchless Virago *Semiramis*, who reigned 42 Years. *Petavius* calculates that *Semiramis* begun to reign *An. Mundi* 2006, which was but 350 Years after the Flood, and that *Abraham* was born in the 23d Year of her Reign.* Now we know from *Moses* that *Abraham* was 75 Years old, when he removed from *Haran* to *Canaan*; and he found that fine Country so thinly inhabited at that Time, that scarce half the Grounds were taken up in private Property. But, on the contrary, great Families, with numerous Flocks and Herds, would easily settle almost in any Tract of it, without giving the least apparent Umbrage to any of the native Inhabitants. So we find, *Gen.* xii. 6, 8, 9. that *Abraham* with all his Substance moved to any different Settlements. Again, *Gen.* xiii. 9. *Abraham* put *Lot* in Mind that the whole Country was before them, *that is*, Room enough in any Part of it, to settle without Disturbance or Offence to the Natives. But, if *Abraham* was born in the 23d Year of the Reign of *Semiramis*, then *Ninus's* vast Armies must have been raised, suppose 20 or 30 Years before that Monarch's Death; which would be above 50 Years before the Birth of *Abraham*, which is 125 Years before he came into *Canaan*.†

'Tis

* *Petav. Rationarium Temp.* Part I. Lib. I. cap. 2.

† *Vid. Petav. Rationar. Lib. I. c. 2.*

'Tis utterly incredible that, when the World was so thinly inhabited, even in the best Countries, such vast Numbers of Mankind should be *enslaved* to one Potentate; and sent out on the destructive Errands of his private Ambition. For there must have been a vast Extent of Country, stretching from any Border of that Empire, convenient enough for retiring to, and settling in, with Liberty and Independency, and Plenty.

But, notwithstanding all these Incongruities to the Age of the World, which demonstrate that there could be no authentic, contemporary Records, which *Ctesias* could make use of, or any genuine Copies of such Originals; yet *Ctesias*, as cited by *Diodorus Siculus* his faithful Copier*, related as followeth.

Ninus, the first *Affyrian* Monarch mentioned in History, being of a very military Temper, and ambitious of Glory, raised a gallant Army, and making an Alliance with *Arieus* King of *Arabia*, which was then full of brave Men, the Confederate Army, under the Command of *Ninus*, first invaded and subdued *Babylonia*, then *Media*, which he also conquered and reduced to a Province. He afterwards marched thro' all the *Asiatic* Nations; which in seventeen Years he conquered; all except *Bactria* and *India*. He over-ran all the Countries bordering on the *Mediterranean* with the Continent of *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, all the *Lesser Asia*, and the Provinces adjacent to the *Caspian*. After which he undertook his *Bactrian* Expedition, for which he prepared an Army of 1,700,000 Foot, 210,000 Horse, 10,600 armed or hooked Chariots. With these formidable Forces he invaded *Oxyartes* King of *Bactria*. The *Bactrian* Monarch came against the Invader with an Army of 400,000 Men, which were at last defeated, the Capital taken, and the conquered Country regulated into another Province.

Semiramis, who was the great *Coadjutrix*, and afterwards the Successor to *Ninus* in the Empire, was still more famous for greater and more enormous Works and Wars than *Ninus* himself.—First, as to her Works;—She buried her Husband *Ninus* in the Royal Palace, and raised over him a Mount of Earth for his Monument, nine Furlongs in Height, and ten in Breadth, which in the Plains of the *Euphrates* looked like a Citadel.

N. B. Besides the incredible Dimension of this Tomb, here is an obvious Absurdity in the Geography, and therefore not extracted from, or recorded by any Contemporary or *National* Writer; nor had *Ctesias* ever seen the Ruins of *Nineveh*, since all Geographers agree that *Nineveh* stood on the *Tigris*, not the *Euphrates*. Could any *English* Writer say, that the magnificent Spires of *London* make a beautiful Appearance on the Banks of the *Severn*, the *Mersey*, or the *Tyne*? Again; her high aspiring Temper, ever aiming at superlative Glory, put her next upon building a new City, even *Babylon*, which was on the *Euphrates*, as well as *Nineveh*.

This

* *Diodor. Sic. Lib. II. cap. 1.*

This was, forsooth, to outshine *Nineveh*. She collected for this great Undertaking two Millions of Workmen: She encompassed this new City with a Wall of 360 Furlongs. And, as *Ninus's* Wall was only of that Breadth; that *three* Chariots might be driven upon it abreast; those of *Babylon*, would, with equal Conveniency, admit of *six*. And, for the greater Order and Expedition, she committed the Care and Inspection of a Furlong to each of her principal Officers. By which methodical Management this stupendous City was finished in one Year.—Here again we have another incredible Absurdity, of which we have no Imitation in all History; *namely*, that one Prince should build so great a City as *Nineveh*; and that the Successor of the same Prince should set up another for the Capital of the same Empire; and that even on the same River, when the first was entirely *new*, and but built and peopled about half an Age before. But, indeed, all the History of this Heroine, as wrote by this *Cnidian Fabulist*, is laid so thick with Wonders, that one knows not where to pause for Admiration. She then proceeded, as another Sample of the Absurdity of her Taste, to erect a Bridge over the narrowest Part of the *Euphrates*, no less than five Furlongs in Length, at each End of which, she raised a magnificent Palace of stupendous Beauty and Dimension, the one being forty, and the other thirty Furlongs in Circumference; what a Profusion, and what Folly of Building was here, to raise *two* such Palaces of such monstrous *Dimensions*, so *near* each other, as at the two Ends of the same Bridge, to entertain and lodge one vain Woman? There never was any Parallel to this Vanity. One *Alexandria* fitted the Line of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*; and *Thebes* and *Memphis*, all the preceding Masters of that Monarchy; one *Rome* fitted the Conquerors of the World, as their Principal Imperial Seats, when the World was far more populous than it was possible to have been in *Semiramis's* Age. But, as this prodigious Woman would leave nothing for any new Prince to undertake; she, according to *Ctesias*, dug a quadrangular Bason of near forty Miles square, into which she turned the Waters of the *Euphrates*; and hereby having made the Channel dry, she built an extraordinary Vault for a subterraneous Communication betwixt the two Palaces; finished like all her other Works, with consummate Art, and matchless Profusion; and then she permitted the River to flow over it again, that she might go from Palace to Palace, without the Trouble of passing the River. When all her mighty Works were finished, her restless Ambition prompted her to *War*; she marched into the Field with a prodigious Army of above three Millions of Foot, 200,000 Horse, or 500,000, as it is in the Margin of *Diodorus*, 100,000 Chariots, and 100,000 Men mounted on Camels, with Swords four Cubits long: She had along with this enormous Army, a great Number of counterfeit Elephants, for the making of which she provided Three hundred thousand black Oxen, which were flayed, and then stitched and stuffed in such a manner, as to appear at a Distance, real Elephants. For each of these she provided a Man to govern them, and a

Camel to draw them. What a formidable Parade was all this? She had also 2000 Boats for the Navigation of the *Indus*, and passing her Forces over that River. But, as nothing is difficult to an Author who hath not Truth to take Care of, our Father of Oriental Fables, *Ctesias*, soon finds an Adversary to encounter her. *Stabrobates*, the *Indian* Monarch, speedily raised an Army, far greater than that of *Semiramis*. He had 4000 Boats against her 2000, and doubtless every Thing proportionable. And the Event is related to have been answerable to his Preparations; for he defeated her in a decisive Action, in which she lost one third of her Forces.

The Use I make of this long Detail of Particulars from *Diodorus Siculus*, is this, *namely*, to shew that this whole Account is so *unnatural* in Point of *Numbers*, for the Age of the World, when this Transaction is supposed, according to *Ctesias's* Reckoning, to have been done; that it may be proved, from this Circumstance, that it could not have been drawn or copied from any Original authentic Records. The Story carrieth its own Confutation in it, by such injudicious and unpardonable Anachronisms. Contemporary Writers on the Battles of *Cressy* and *Poitiers* in *Edward III's* Time, or *Agincourt* in *Henry Vth's* Time, or *Blenheim* and *Ramillies*, in *Queen Anne's* Time, may perhaps differ 5000 or 10,000 Men in their Accounts of the Armies, or of the *Losses* in those several Actions. But, if we should meet with a *Record*, or an Historian that should assert the Difference to be a Million or two Millions of Men, we should immediately despise such a Fabulist; because such Armies are known to be egregiously *uncommon*; and yet they are not *impossible*, as in the *Assyrian* Armies in that Age, according to *Ctesias*. But it is utterly impossible, in the Course of Nature, that there should have been Armies long before the Birth of *Abraham*, before the 300th Year after the Deluge, consisting of two Millions of Men, as in *Ninus's* Army; opposed by perhaps half as many, as that of the *Bactrians*, in one Tract or Corner of *Asia*; and that, about the Birth of *Abraham*, *Semiramis* should have any Army of four Millions of Men; and the *Indian* Forces be still more numerous than her's; even above eight Millions of People in Arms; besides all the Multitudes, which must have been necessarily employed in Agriculture, Pasturage, and all the domestic Arts and Occupations of human Life; and the Women and Children unable to bear Arms, or insufficient to manage the Grounds.—Now *Ctesias* as much *insists* on the *Veracity* of these enormous, incredible Calculations, as he doth on the very *Being* of these Princes; and therefore had he had any genuine Records, the *Numbers* must have been as much a Part of the Records, as either the *Names* or *Wars* of these Monarchs. And, as the *Numbers* were impossible in the ordinary Course of Nature, at that Time, there could be no such genuine Register; nor could a Writer then have easily stretched his Imagination, to dream of Armies so monstrous.—Again; this Author insists as much on the *Succession* of *thirty* Generations from *Ninyas* to *Sardanapalus*, as on the Event of his *Fall*, and the Fall of *Nineveh* with him. And therefore *Ninus* must have lived in the Primeval
Ages

Ages near the Flood ; for this Succession was of above 1300 Years Continuance. And then his History must be unavoidably loaded with this Absurdity of *unsyncronal* Numbers, in the Armies for that Age of the World. For these Armies must, probably, be equal to the Sum Total of the whole Human Race at that Time.

7. The *Cnidian* Fables are as unnatural and inconsistent in the *Progress*, as they are in their *Beginnings*. The *Successors* of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* are as much *Wonders* of Indolence and Inactivity, as *they themselves* were of Spirit, Bravery and Enterprize. *Ctesias*, as *Diodorus* quotes him, tells us (as I have just observed) that there was a regular Succession of Hereditary Monarchs from Father to Son, of thirty Generations ; who held the Empire of *Asia* 1360 Years. Now there are such gross *Incongruities* to *Nature*, in the whole Story of this Succession, that it cannot be allowed to have any Appearance of Truth ; and therefore could not be derived from any genuine Records whatsoever. It is repugnant to all Probability, that a Race of Princes, in thirty Successions, should continue for 1360 Years, without any one memorable Action or Event, in all that Length of Time ; when they must one with another have reigned about 45 Years apiece ; for $30 \times 45 = 1350$. That they should build no Cities, make no Wars, gain no Countries, lose no tributary Provinces, nor be any one of them memorable, either for one single Instance of eminent Success, or one signal Misfortune : This is entirely incredible ! There is no Parallel to this strange Series of Things, in any authentic History whatsoever. And yet Human Passions are so much *alike* in all Ages, that we have the utmost Reason to believe that Things in the Times *past*, must have had some Resemblance to what we see in these *latter* Ages ; and that they would have recorded them *then*, as well as *now*, if they had had Writing among them.—In so long a Succession of Princes, some would have been active and ambitious, as well as others indolent and luxurious ; some would have been oppressive in Power, as well as others humane and generous. Some would have had the Virtues of mild Popularity, others those of enterprising and adventurous Courage ; which must have occasioned some Changes and Convulsions in the Body of so unweildy an Empire. Sometimes it has happened that a lazy Heir has slumbered on an active Father's Throne ; and a Conqueror or Politician has left an effeminate Drone behind him. As the soft *Belsazzar* soon succeeded the great *Nebuchadnezzar*. Sometimes a great Conqueror is succeeded by a Prince with a peculiar Genius for the Arts of *Peace* ; to polish a Land, after the Roughness of War. As the polite *Solomon* followed the heroic *David*. Sometimes a good Father leaves a wicked Son, as *Jehoshaphat* did *Jehoram* ; and, on the contrary, a profligate Father leaves a pious Successor, as *Abaz* had *Hezekiah*, and *Ammon*, *Josiah*. All this Variety is agreeable to Nature and the Course of Things. And thus it has been, in all Times, of which we have any authentic History. But nothing like these *natural* Differences appears in these fabled

Assyrian Memoirs of *Ctesias*. But one *unnatural*, uniform *Series* of Indolence, Luxury and Tyranny disgraced the World, for long 1300 Years; and yet no Insurrection within, or Invasion from without, disturbed their slothful Peace. During all this tedious Round of Ages, the enslaved World bore the Coward's Yoke; Heroes at home obsequiously executed the ignominious Commands of effeminate Monsters, who did themselves no one Action worth the Sun's shining upon. The neighbouring Nations in inactive Insensibility, dragged the reproachful Chain from Age to Age; tho' they had neither Courage nor Council to be apprehensive of in those soft Princes. They obeyed a *Ninyas* as they did a *Ninus*, and trembled at the despicable Lumber of a Throne, who never saw any Thing but an Eunuch, or an Harlot.—These Things never could be Facts; it outrageth the common Sense of Mankind to propose them to our Belief; and therefore there could be no *genuine* Records from which *Ctesias* could extract them.

8. It is not any great Wonder that, in a vain Project for Fame as an Historian, *Ctesias* should *invent* a fabulous *Series* of Kings, when he had no *genuine* Catalogue to make use of. He had, most likely, heard of *Herodotus* before he left the *Lesser Asia*; and probably he finished his own Work after his Return; for he was but seventeen Years in *Persia*. And, as his *Halicarnassian* Neighbour had acquired so great a Fame, by his travelling History, our Author might have an Ambition to emulate the great Reputation of *Herodotus*, by his own Oriental Fictions. He had a Mind to write something in *Greek* for the Entertainment of his wondering Countrymen; and he could not be apprehensive that the Defect of his Evidences and Vouchers, could be liable to a severe Examination, in so remote a Country and Age.—He had, therefore, the Presumption to forge that admired Series of Falsehoods, which have circulated ever since, and which have fed the Curiosity of all the Historic World, since that Time. Tho', if they had been read with due Critical Care and Skill, they must have given them a Disgust, instead of an Entertainment. It may be also observed that the Taste of that Age did not lead Men, in Historical Matters, to be very scrupulous about Evidence; except where some Interest was concerned. They had been much used to have their Historians chiefly among the *Poets*; and, when they began to write in Prose, they readily entertained any Thing that was well wrote, when *History* was so new. *Criticism in Things* is a later Improvement. Elegancy in Style and Composition was the Taste of his Age. And, tho' *Xenophon* may be an Exception, yet his was a History of his own Personal Knowledge; and many came back with him to *Greece*, who were Witnesses of the several Incidents and Contingences of the whole Expedition, which required Exactness in *Xenophon*.

I think we have clear Instances of a like impudent Artifice, either for aggrandizing the Author, or his Country, in much later Times. The pompous Catalogue of the *British* Monarchs from *Brutus* the *Trojan* Prince, in sixty-three Successions down to *Cassibilan*, who governed *Britain* at the Time of

of *Julius Cæsar's* Invasion, is generally allowed to be a Forgery of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. There were no Letters in *Britain* till after *Julius Cæsar's* Time. For the *Romans* introduced this Knowledge both into *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, and the other Northern Nations of *Europe*; as the learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* observeth, "All their Antiquities are to be considered under the Notion of Impostures. Not (says he) that I think, those Nations had lain in a perpetual Sleep, till the *Romans* awaked them into some Civility, but that they had no certain Way of conveying down the Transactions of their own and former Times, to the View of Posterity.* And the Lists of the *Scottish* Princes were doubtless from a like fabled Original. They were forged in some obscure Monastery; and perhaps at last copied from such Originals, by some Predecessor of *Hector Boetius*, as from ancient Records.—Now, from these comparatively recent, and undenied Forgeries, we may be induced to suspect the like, in the remote Antiquities of *Assyria*, *Egypt*, *Sicyon*, &c. And, when a vain, mendacious Writer happens to resolve to draw up an History of such Ages, for which he has no competent Materials, it is equally easy to forge Actors as Actions. But, when the Actions are of such a Nature, as cannot be in any Consistency with the common Course of Things, or any other authentic Memoirs; it is reasonable to conclude that the whole is a *Fable*, both as to the Actors and their Exploits too. If I cannot believe that *Semiramis* had four Millions of Men in Arms, why should I believe either her Age or Being? I own, indeed, there might be Inhabitants in *Assyria* at that Time; but there were no *Historians* in that Age, to acquaint us who or what they were; and we are sure they could not be as *Ctesias* represents them, at the Time when he says *Ninus* lived, which was about 1400 Years before the Fall of *Nineveh*.

9. The manifest Ignorance of *Ctesias* as to the latest Transactions of the *Assyrian* Monarchy, which were certainly within Historic Time, demonstrates either that he had no Access to genuine Records, or that he did not regard them.—There was a Succession of great Princes from *Pul* or *Belus* to the Destruction of *Nineveh*, which is regularly set down in the *Hebrew* Scriptures, and almost every Reign is distinguished with great Actions, one following another, in very natural Order. One Conquest prepared for another; and one independent Country being added to the Territories of the conquering Nation, made it gradually stronger; which naturally prompted the succeeding Monarchs to aspire after a larger Extent of Dominion, as they became gradually fit for new and greater Undertakings. This is all a very natural, progressive History in the Old Testament, and worthy of Attention from its natural Probability. But, of all these great successive Princes, *Ctesias* appears to have been entirely ignorant, even of their very Names as well as Actions; as it is observed by Sir *John Marsham*, Professor *Jameson*, and Sir *Isaac Newton*. He ascribes all the memorable Events of the *Assyrian* Empire to

* *Stilling. Origin, Sacr.* p. 96. 4th Edit.

to *Ninus* and *Semiramis*. The Building the two great Cities *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, which is most unnatural Work for two successive Reigns ; and all the Conquests, so rapid and so extensive, which not only laid the Foundations, but fixed the Boundaries of the *Assyrian* Greatness ; every Scene of War, and Improvement in Peace, were crowded into these two ancient Reigns. This is History without any Parallel ; for, tho' *Alexander* conquered much, yet he *built* but little ; and, tho' his Victories were impetuous and extensive, yet its Extent was owing chiefly to his Conquest of the *Persian* Monarchy, which was itself of such Extent before. He placed, as I have already noted, these two Reigns which were in the Beginning of the Empire, thirty Generations, or 1360 Years before the *Fall* of *Nineveh*. And again ; " The Fall of that Capital he places about 300 Years before the Reigns of " *Astibares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*, who destroyed it." *

If we consider the Age of *Ctesias*, when he lived, and the true Time of the Destruction of *Nineveh*, it will give us a worse Idea of *Ctesias*'s Honesty, than even of his Capacity and Intelligence. *Nineveh* was taken by the *Medes* and *Babylonians* in Confederacy, in the Youth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, about *An. Nabonaf.* 140, as the great *Newton* calculateth. This could be but about 200 Years before the Reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, when *Ctesias* flourished ; and, during all which Time, and many Years before, *Writing* was well known there. Is it not infinitely surprizing that he, who pretended to be an Historian, should be so unacquainted with the Times *nearest* to his own Age ; and yet should be so punctually informed in the most distant *Primordia* of the *Assyrian* Monarchy ?

It might be, in the Course of Nature, possible that a Youth of Quality might, at 16 Years of Age, have been at the Siege of *Nineveh*, and at 70 Years old, relate the Story of that memorable Siege of his own Knowledge, to some of his own Grandchildren ; as particularly to one of the younger Sort ; who might at seventy, at second-hand, repeat the same Story, as what he had heard from his Grandfather. And he might relate it to a Grandchild of the same Age, *viz.* about sixteen, who might relate it to *Ctesias* himself.——*Cyrus* himself must have been apprized of the Circumstances of this famous Siege, in his Youth. He might very well be supposed to relate the Story to *Darius Hystaspes*, who might relate it to *Longimanus*, and he to *Mnemon*, in whose Court our Author lived for several Years ; and where the three remarkable Sieges of *Nineveh*, *Jerusalem*, and *Babylon*, must have been much spoke of by old Officers. They might also have had several Trophies, or other Honorary Spoils taken at *Nineveh*, preserved in their Families, which would keep up the Memorial of that War.

The Wars of the Heroic House of *Nassau*, in the *Netherlands* ; our Military Actions in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, by Sea and Land, are natural Subjects

* *Newt. Assyr. Empire.* p. 267. 8vo Edit.

jects both for Meditation and Conversation, among Military Men ; as well as the more recent Glories of *Turenne*, or *Marlborough's* Wars. And no doubt there is a Series of noble Remarks from Masters to Scholars in War, which keep great, tho' distant Transactions longer fresh in Memory. Thus the Duke of *Marlborough* might have heard the *Marshal de Turenne* talk of the Stratagem or Bravery of the old Princes of *Orange* ; he might (probably) have communicated those spiriting Observations to the *Earl of Stairs*, who may have imparted them to our young Hero, His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*. Hereby memorable Actions are more perfectly preserved a longer Time among great Men, and in the Courts of Princes. Our Author might many Ways have full Opportunities of being informed, as to the Time of that famous Event. I cannot therefore but suspect that *Ctesias* has represented these Actions designedly, in order to give more of the Antique and Venerable to his Piece.

I conclude now, upon the whole, that there were no *Assyrian Records*, or *Authors* much elder than the *Æra of Nabonassar*. There is but one pretended ancient Author, and that one we have demonstratively proved to be an injudicious, ignorant Counterfeit, and frontless Fabulist, who belies Nature, and carrieth his own Confutation in almost every Article of Moment ; all his History being greatly improbable, and in many Parts impossible.

C H A P. X.

No Egyptian genuine Records of the Ancients.

I COME next to enquire into the Antiquity of the *Egyptian* Records. And, notwithstanding the boasted Longevity of that Empire, and the pretended Regularity of the Account of their *Dynasties* ; I hope to prove the Foundation, on which this great Fabric stands, is extremely precarious for want of Evidence, and even mostly fabulous.—My general Proposition is, that there was no Knowledge of *Alphabetical Writing* in *Egypt* much sooner than the Days of *Solomon* ; and that it is therefore highly probable, that there were no *Egyptian* Histories before that Time.

There are but three *Egyptian* Historians of Note among the *Pagan* Writers, the Knowledge whereof is come down to us. *Herodotus*, *Manetho* and *Diodorus Siculus* ; excepting *Homer*, who has preserved some Sketches of their Antiquities in his immortal Poems ; and *Eratosthenes's* List of Kings. *Herodotus* is the first, and the most credible Writer of their Antiquities, among the profane Authors. But, as *Manetho* is supposed to go highest up in the regular Accounts of Time ; and to bring their History down in the most regular Order of Descents and Successions ; I shall in the Examination of the *Egyptian* Antiquities begin with him.

S E C T. I.

On Manetho's Egyptian Antiquities.

MANETHO was a learned Person, and lived in a very learned Age and Court, namely, that of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. From his Rank and Station, he may be allowed to have been well skilled in *Egyptian* Antiquities. He was a *Native* of the Country, nobly born, and the Chief of their Order of learned Men, being High-Priest of *Heliopolis*, ἱερῶν μιαιῶν ἀρχιερεὺς, *the Chief Priest of their impure Sacra*, as *Syncellus* calls him. He undertook this great Work of writing the ancient History of *Egypt*, by Order of *Ptolemy*, to whom he dedicated the Performance. He was an Author well known among the Ancients, for he is frequently mentioned and cited, by the best and oldest Writers since his Time, as *Josephus* [passim,] *Plutarch de Iside & Osiride*, *Theophilus ad Antiochum*, *Tertullian*, *Porphyry de abstinentia Animal.* & *Eusebius in Chronicis*.* He was therefore in those Times MUCH READ, and could not for that Reason, be EASILY miscited, or misrepresented to serve any Interest or Party.

And we have a very remarkable Account of him, particularly to the Purpose of our present Inquiry; relating to the Vouchers of his History, and the Originals from which he took those venerable or fabulous *Egyptian* Antiquities.

The great *Eusebius* expressly tells us as to this, † “ That *Manetho* the *Sabbennite*, who was High-Priest of their superstitious *Sacra* in *Egypt* under *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, from certain Columns, or Pillars, which were found lying in the Land of *Seriad*, ἐκ τῶν σηλῶν κειμένων ἐν γῇ σηριαδικῇ, drew his Histories, in which Columns, they say, they were inscribed in the Sacred Dialect, and in Sacred Characters, by *Thouth*, the first Mercury; and, after the Flood were translated ἐρμηνευθεισῶν, out of the Sacred Dialect into Greek, in Sacred Letters γραμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς in *Hieroglyphic* Letters, and placed by *Agathodæmon*, the second Mercury, the Father of *Tat*, among the Books of the *Adyta* of the *Egyptian* Temples.”

Our

* *Voss. de Historic. Græc. Lib. I. c. 14.*

† *Euseb. Chronic. Græc. p. 6. Syncell. p. 40.*

Eusebius quotes this Work of *Manetho* thus:

Ἐκ τῶν Μανέθου τὸν σεβεννίτη, ὃς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν αἰγυπτίῳ εἰδῶν χρηματίσας, ἐκ τῶν ἐν γῇ σηριαδικῇ κειμένων σηλῶν, ἱερᾷ φησι διαλεκτῇ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γραμμασιν κεχαρακτῆρισμένων, ὑπὸ θούθ τοῦ πρώτου ἑρμῶς, καὶ ἐρμηνευθεισῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν, ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλεκτῆς εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνήν, γραμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς, καὶ ἀποτεθεισῶν ἐν βιβλοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοδαίμονος τοῦ δευτέρου ἑρμού πατρὸς τοῦ τὰτ, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν αἰγυπτίων.

Our learned Bishop *Stillingfleet*, upon this Fragment of *Manetho* makes this Reflection, "Certainly this fabulous Writer could not in fewer Words have manifested his own *Impostures*, or have more blasted his own Credit than he has done in these; which it is a Wonder so many learned Men have taken so little Notice of, which have found frequent Occasion to speak of *Manetho* and his Dynasties."

I shall now attempt a full Examination of *Manetho's* Vouchers for his History, according to this Fragment.

(1.) If there were any ancient Records of *Egyptian* Affairs, they must either have been *those* which the later Writers *professed* to make use of; or they *must not*. Now, if they *were not* the same which their most celebrated Authors *professed* to make use of, particularly *Manetho*, this is stumbling at the Threshold. For, if they had them, and yet did not, and would not, make use of them, it is a strong Ground of Suspicion, that they were of no *Credit* among themselves; which is equivalent to their own Acknowledgment, that they had none authentic and genuine.

(2.) If they chose to make use of some other Records, which they did name, *viz.* those which they could but refer to, as only in one Hand, then this is a violent Presumption that they *forged* these unknown Originals. And, if *Manetho* could forge Original Columns and Inscriptions, we cannot rely on him for any other Matters he relates, whatever real Records he might have Access to, besides.

(3.) If the Advocates for *Manetho's Dynasties*, which were never heard of before his Writing, should insist that there were *then* in Being the very *same* Records which he *professed* to make use of; they must, I think, admit his Report concerning one Part as well as another; or it cannot be *Manetho's* Original. Now there are these Particulars concerning them, *equally* asserted in this Fragment.

(1.) *Manetho's* Originals were Columns or Pillars inscribed *before the Flood*. Now it is utterly incredible that any such Pillars should be able to *endure* the impetuous Torrents of the Deluge, and remain *legible* after the violent Eruption of Waters, and other Alterations in the Surface of the Earth by that stupendous Catastrophe. These Pillars must have been rolled promiscuously with the other Ruins, on the shattered Surface of the Earth; and defaced and broken in the common Rubbish; and, by the Agitation of the Waters, be buried deep in Mud and Ruins, so as to be irrecoverably lost. So that this Part of the Account of the Antiquity of *Manetho's* Pillars must be given up; because it must be impossible, that they could be *legible* in his Days.

(2.) These Columns were inscribed by the *first Mercury* or *Thoyth*, as we have said, *before the Flood*. But, by the unanimous Consent of all the profane Authors, who have wrote on the Antiquities of *Egypt*, this *Hermes* flourished *after the Flood*, and therefore could not be the Author of these Inscriptions. And yet, as he was, according to them, the Author and In-

ventor of *Letters*, there could be no Writing *before* his Time. *Sanchoiathon* says he was the *Inventor* of *Letters*, and yet brings him in, in that Age, which must be two Generations after the Flood, tho' he names it not. *Socrates* is brought in by *Plato* [in *Phædon*] saying, "I have heard at *Nau-cratis* in *Egypt*, that one of the ancient Gods, to whom the Bird *Ibis* was consecrated, who is called *Theuth*, by the *Egyptians*, first found out Numbers, Geometry, Astronomy, and *Letters*." *Aulus Gellius*, *Cicero* and *Diodorus*, who had the same Sentiments about *Hermes* being the Inventor of *Letters*, had their Information from *Plato's* Works. *Sanchoiathon* says, that he [*Hermes*] was the Secretary γραμματεὺς of *Saturn*. But *Diodorus Siculus* says, he was the Secretary of *Osiris*,* and that *Osiris* made the greatest Use of him and his Counsels, in all the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom; being of a singular Sagacity and the Inventor of *Letters*. Sir *John Marsham* says, that the *Sacred Letters* were of a later Invention than *Letters* themselves, and were owing to the second *Mercury*.† — Now, from all this, it is plain that *Manetho's* Pillars could not be inscribed by *Hermes* before the Flood, since the *Hermes*, who invented *Letters*, lived after the Flood. So that another Part of *Manetho's* Account of his Original Vouchers must be given up as a Forgery.

(3.) *Manetho's* Columns were fixed in the Land of *Seriad*. But this is a Place wholly unknown. It is never mentioned by himself either before or after, or by any other Writer or Traveller whatsoever. And this is a very suspicious Mark of a Forgery, that the Place should not be known by any body. Surely, if *Manetho* had seen these Pillars, others must have known of them as well as he. Those, who informed him of those venerable Curiosities, might have been able to inform others. And, if *Manetho* was so singularly fortunate, as to discover them himself, such inestimable Treasures, as the *Autographa* of *Thoth*, must soon have been deposited among the most venerable Monuments of Antiquity in their Temples; and have grown familiar at least, among the Priests, from whom they must not conceal their Secrets. Just as the *Parian Chronicle* has been familiar among the Learned, since its first Publication by our Great *Selden*. But no body to this Day ever heard where this *Terra Seriadica* was, or of these Columns being deposited among any of their sacred Repositories of antique Curiosities. This Concealment of the Place where they were found, or to which they were removed, ministereth great Suspicion of Forgery in our Author, as I have noted. And that he knew nothing of any such Pillars, or any other authentic Records, which would lay a Foundation for his *Dynasties*. But, as he feigned the one, so he forged the other too, as unsearchable Vouchers for his fabulous History, which could not be confuted, because they could not be found out and consulted. So that a third Part of his own Account of his Originals must be given up, as the bold Invention of this celebrated High-Priest.

(4.) These

* *Diador. Sic. Lib. I.*

† *Marsham. Canon. Chronic. p. 39.*

(4.) These Inscriptions on these *Antediluvian* Columns were translated into *Greek* soon after the Flood, in sacred or *hieroglyphic* Letters by the Son of the second *Hermes* the Father of *Tat*.^{*} Now this is as much a Part of the Account, which *Manetho* giveth of them in this Fragment, as any other Particular. And yet, it seemeth to be a very inaccurate Thing, to say they were translated into the *Greek* Language in *Hieroglyphics*; for, according to the Notions we have of this Sort of Writing, *Hieroglyphics* were a Sort of Images of Things, which conveyed the same Ideas in all Languages, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* has observed. And again, it seemeth to be a very injudicious Figment for a Person who had seen the *Septuagint* Version of *Moses*; and could, in some Measure, compute how distant the Deluge was, to talk of their being translated into the *Greek* Language *after* the Flood. It is true that the Fragment doth not say, *soon* after the Flood. But the Manner of Expression *after the Flood*, intimates that it must mean *soon after*. For it would be manifestly improper to use such an Expression *after the Flood*, to signify that this Translation was made a Thousand or two Thousand Years *after that* Event. And if [*after the Flood*] must import *soon after* the Flood, then it must be saying that it was translated into *Greek*, before the *Greek* Nation was in being.—Again; these Columns were inscribed in the *sacred Dialect*, which was a Language peculiar to the *Egyptian* Priests. But it must be an absurd Imagination for those who had read *Moses's* History of the Universal Deluge, as *Manetho* had done, to suppose that this Dialect, peculiar to the *Egyptian* Priests, should be known before the Flood, or brought into the *Postdiluvian* World. None survived the Flood but *Noah* and his three Sons, and their Wives; who were not like to bring down with them, a sacred Dialect of one Set of Priests. And besides, we know, by a far better Authority than *Manetho's*, that there was but one Language in the World till the *Babel* Confusion. So that now it seems necessary to give up the fourth Part of the Account of our High-Priest's Vouchers, as improbable, in all its Particulars, and entirely untenable, and even impossible in some of them, as the Version of the Inscriptions into *Greek* soon after the Flood, before *Greece* was.

(5.) *Manetho* took his History of *Egypt* either from these *Hermetic*, Original Pillars *themselves*; or from the Books which were translated from *them* into *Greek*, as it would seem, from the *Beginning* of the Monarchy to the Reign of *Nectanebus*, when his own History ends; which was but a few Years before the Rise of the *Macedonian* Empire.† This Absurdity in *Manetho's* Account is taken Notice of by two great and learned Prelates, *Stillingfleet* and *Cumberland*. Bishop *Stillingfleet* remarks thus: “ Sure this *Thoyth* “ was

Q 2

* Or by *Agathodæmon*, the Father of *Tat*, the second Mercury. *Agathodæmon*, perhaps, may not be a proper Name, but an Epithet: *Agathodæmon*, the good Genius, or the blessed. The Father of the second *Heremes*, or *Tautus*.

† *Voss. de Historic. Græc. Lib. I. c. 14.*

“ was an excellent *Prophet*, to write an History of above 50,000 Years to “ come, as *Manetho* reckons it.” * This Absurdity is so flagrant that *Thoyth* should write, *before* the Flood, an History of *Egypt*, which contained an Account of its Affairs, for many thousand Years *after* it, that one would think no great Author could possibly fall into it. But,

—quandoque bonus dormitat *Homerus*.

when Men deal in Fiction, it requireth constant Attention to preserve Consistency, and save Appearances; and some one Slip often betrayeth the Truth, however industriously concealed.

But if any should suggest that *Manetho* must be supposed only to mean, that he took the *Beginning* of his Dynasties from those *Antediluvian* Columns, and the *following* Parts were supplied out of other Records;—even this Supposition will leave his Vindication very lame. For he is not quoted for giving any such Account of it himself; nor doth any *Pagan* Writer accuse *Eusebius* of misrepresenting him, in this Fragment. And he was a Writer so much read, that such a Misrepresentation could not have escaped Discovery, had it been really a Misrepresentation.

All these Incongruities and Absurdities in the Accounts of them, which *Manetho* himself giveth, must utterly destroy the Credit of those fabled Columns. And, if they are to be given up, then he had properly *no* Monuments at all of those ancient Times which he pretended to make use of. And, if the learned and industrious *Manetho* could procure no authentic Records, I think, I may justify my Proposition, that there never were any of the earliest Ages, till about the Reign of *Solomon*. And those could only be gathered out of obsolete Traditions.

S E C T. II.

On Dr. Twells's Scheme of Manetho's Chronology agreeing with the Septuagint.

HERE I might rest my whole Enquiry, as to the Authority of *Manetho*. But a late ingenious Writer, Dr. *Twells*, in his Dissertation on the Chronology of the *Septuagint*, has at last found out a Way of reconciling the *Egyptian* Computations of *Manetho*, tho' not of *Herodotus*, to the *Septuagint* Version of the *Hebrew* Scriptures. By supposing our Author to make use of *Lunar*, instead of *Solar* Years; and, from this Agreement with the *Septuagint* hereby made out, the *Doctor* infers the *Genuineness* of the *Egyptian* Memoirs, from which *Manetho* wrote.—This Agreement would, I confess, be something of a plausible Argument in Favour of those old *Egyptian* Monuments,

* *Stillingsf. Origin. Sacr.* p. 37. Edit. 4th.

ments, if it were certain that the *Septuagint* is *right* in itself; and this Agreement with that Chronology could be *accounted* for *no other* Way. But, I think, it is very easy to explain both why *Herodotus* had not, and why *Manetho* had, some Sort of Chronological Foundations. The *Hebrew* Scriptures were translated into *Greek*, before *Manetho* published his History. And it is agreed by all, that he had an Opportunity of perusing them. This would give him some Knowledge of Chronology, and a general Notion of the Duration of the World. Dr. *Twells* owns, "That we are beholden, for our best Systems of Chronology, to *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*; who having, with indefatigable Pains and Industry, consulted the best and most authentic Records of former Ages, have transmitted to us the Quintessence and Substance of them all. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* are most excellent and valuable Historians; but who could have undertaken, by their Help alone, to have put the History of the first Ages of the World into any tolerable Order?" * This is equivalent to a Confession that the *Egyptians* had no regular Accounts of Time from the Beginning of their Nation. For all that *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* did, was only labouring to settle a Synchronism betwixt the *Hebrew* Antiquities, and those of other Nations. They cited no *new* Authorities, Records, or Columns; but only have preserved some, that might otherwise have been lost. What Benefit they got, as to fixing any regular Standard of Time, by the industrious consulting *Manetho*, or *Berosus*, I cannot conceive. For they looked upon them to be monstrous Antiquities, and it is manifest, that they *none* of them had any Notion of the true *Distance* of Time from the Beginning of the World, to any one Period in all their History. Our learned Sir *John Marsham* observeth, "That the Age of *Sesostris* was wholly unknown to the *Greeks*, but was preserved in the *Hebrew Scriptures*." † I do not, therefore, see a good Reason for our great Author's referring with so much Confidence, to the Testimonies of the *Egyptian* Priests, as he doth just before. ‡ 'Tis plain, that they had no more Knowledge of the *Distance* of their first Kings from the Beginning of the World, than the *Greeks* had, except what they purloined from the *Jewish* sacred Books. All their Conjectures, as to the Age of *Inachus*, *Cecrops*, *Danaus*, *Sesostris*, *Osiris*, or *Menes*, backward, or their Distance from the Rise of the Monarchy were wholly precarious, among both the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*. The Tradition, of the Descent of Human Race from two Parents, was lost; and (I think) that of an *universal* Deluge was nearly so. Almost every Nation pretended to be *αὐτοχθόνες*, *Natives* of *their own* Country, and sprung from their Parent Earth; wherefore they could not have any Difficulties as to the *Distance* of Time, from the *common* Original; since different *Soils* might, according to their Sentiments, be *prolific* in different Times.

* *Egypt. Antiq.* p. 78. † *Marsh. Can. Chron. ad Sec. I.* p. 22. ‡ *Canon. Chronic.* p. 22. Nos, missis Græcorum Prochronismis, Sacerdotes Ægyptios maxime idoneos suorum temporum testes, in hanc Rem citabimus.

Times. Their Calculations of *Time*; which, by the Help of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, we know to be monstrous, did not appear so to them, nor have they been complained of, except by *Jews* and *Christians*. *Diodorus** expresseth no Wonder at the long Series of nameless Kings; which are said, by some, to have lived before *Ninus*. Nor doth *Justin*, at the ancient Date of the *Bactrian* Victories.

I have no doubt but *Herodotus*'s Account of the *Egyptian* Kings is incomparably the most perfect and correct, both as to their Names, and great Actions and Works. But all his Relation of the *Number* of the Reigns, and *Duration* of the Monarchy, under *Gods* or *Men*, is mere bold Fable of the Priests; and utterly incapable of being any Way accommodated to any synchronal Times of the *Hebrew* Chronology.—*Herodotus* was born four Years before *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*; for as *Aulus Gellius*† tells us, he was fifty-three at the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War. And *Pliny*‡ says it was when he retired to *Thyrium*, which was, as may be gathered from *Suidas*, when he was about forty Years old. [Vid. *Fabricius Bibliothec. Græc. in Herodot.*] So that he flourished about 600 Years after Alphabetical Writing was introduced into *Egypt*. And, when once *Letters* were brought into Use for Records, they might be sufficiently exact as to the Numbers and Names of their Kings, in that Space of Time from *Sisbac* to the Days of *Herodotus*, and some few Reigns higher by Tradition. Our *British* Monarchs are well known for a much longer Time. But the Priests found, that, though there might be some real History of these Princes which they named, as *Sesostris*'s Wars, the Builders of *Memphis* and the *Pyramids*; yet this was so short a Time, that they were ashamed to own they were so modern; and therefore, when they began to publish their History to Strangers, they *fabled* a great Number of intermediate Kings; and, because they had no Knowledge of any Actions, by which to distinguish one Reign from another, they represented these Princes as inactive. *Herodotus*, therefore, doth not recite their Names; but only the supposed Length of the Time, from the Rise of the Monarchy to the Time when he wrote.—Not to mention the Time which the Reigns of the Gods took up, the Race of mortal Kings, from the last of the Gods to *Amasis*, during 341 Generations, reigned successively in *Egypt* 11,340 Years; and it is manifest that both he and his Informers understood *Solar* Years, since they compare them with Generations of Men, three of which Generations make 100 Years, namely, *Solar* Years.

But, according to our learned Author, Dr. *Twells*, the next *Egyptian* Authors, *Manetho* and the *Old Chronicle*, (and they must have been near Contemporary, since they both end with *Nectanebus*) make a much more bold Attempt. They give us a regular Chronology, from the Creation to this Reign; which (it seems) is so much to be depended on, as to be a Voucher for the *Septuagint* Version against the Authority of the Original *Hebrew*. But if, as the *Doctor* says, he were to be indulged in this Conjecture, will it prove that

* *Diod. Sic. Lib. II. c. 1.* † *Gell. Noct. Attic. Edit. Thyf. p. 841.* ‡ *Plin. Lib. 12. cap. 4.*

that *Manetho* had found any ancient, authentic Monuments of *Egypt*, more clear and accurate as to Time, than those which *Herodotus's* Priests had any Knowledge of? far from it.—This covered Agreement of *Manetho* with the *Septuagint* Chronology, betrayeth the whole Secret of his Intelligence. The *Hebrew* sacred Books were translated into *Greek* by the learned *Alexandrian* *Jews* for their own Use, in the Days of *Philadelphus*; or perhaps it might have been begun sooner in *Ptolemy Soter's* Reign. This was done before *Manetho* wrote; and, tho' the Translation was, most probably, for their own Use, yet it cannot be questioned but that so curious a Person, and of such Distinction, would procure the Perusal of that great Treasure of Antiquity, the *Jewish* Sacred Books. The learned Mr. *Shuckford* to this Purpose observeth, "That, when the *Hebrew* Antiquities were published, the *Egyptians* grew jealous of the Honour of their Nation, and were willing to shew that they could trace up their Memoirs even higher than *Moses* could carry those of the *Israelites*. For this End *Manetho* made his Collection."* But, I apprehend, that he found no Memoirs of his own Country, that would quadrate with any Calculations of other Countries, or that were of any determinate Distance from the Beginning, or of determinate Duration, any more than *Herodotus* had before him. What must he do in this Exigence? Aggrandizing his Country's Antiquities was his grand Scope; and there were but two Ways for it; either to go on in amplifying their Antiquities at Random, as the Priests of *Herodotus* had done; or to build on some other more certain, methodical Records, with which he might synchronise the *Egyptian* Affairs, as he should please to relate or invent them. There was no Standard of Time, except the *Greek* Translation of the *Jewish* Scriptures. This therefore *Manetho* made use of; yet he would not acknowledge it. Hereby he was driven to employ many dishonest Artifices to conceal it. He pretended to have discovered the *Historical*, or rather *Prophetical* Columns in the Land of *Seriad*. And then, without giving any Notice of it, he stated his Chronology in Years of an unsuspected Dimension; substituting *Lunar* for *Solar* Years. This would answer these Ends; it would conceal his real Originals, which were the *Septuagint* Computations; for they were in *Solar* Years, and it would magnify the *Egyptian* Antiquities, and also make his Accounts seem to come nearer *Herodotus*; tho' indeed he often affected to differ from the *Greek* Traveller, accusing *Herodotus* of frequent Misrepresentations thro' Ignorance.†

Our learned Author cites *Syncellus*, complaining that *Manetho* was led into great Mistakes by following an old *Egyptian* Chronicle, which ascribed to the Gods a Reign of no less than 33984 Years. But, says Dr. *Twells*, "Let us but suppose that these Years were *Lunar* Years, or *Lunations*; and the whole Mystery is cleared up at once. For 33984 Years (or *Lunations*) are equal to 2749 *Egyptian* Years. Now, if we subtract 2256, the Number of Years from the Creation to the Flood, there will remain 493 Years, when

* *Shuckf. Connect.* Vol. I. p. 28.

† *Joseph. contr. Apion. Canon. Chronic.* p. 2.

“ when the Reign of the twelve *Egyptian* Gods, viz. the twelve Patriarchs
 “ from *Adam* to *Arphaxad*, ceased. For, according to the Chronology of
 “ the *Septuagint*, the very next Year, namely, the 494th Year after the
 “ Flood, *Nimrod* and his Adherents rebelled against *Shem* and *Arphaxad*,
 “ their lawful Princes ; and consequently put an End to the Reign of the
 “ Gods on Earth ; that is, to the Reign of the Princes of the holy Patriar-
 “ chal Line over the whole Race of Mankind.” *

Manetho, as the *Doctor* farther observes, divided his Work into thirty
 Dynasties, beginning with *Menes*, and ending fifteen Years before the Reign
 of *Alexander the Great* ; containing an History of - - - - - 2198 Years.
Vetus Chronicon says that, after the Gods and Demigods, suc- }
 ceeded fifteen Kings, or Generations. - - - - - 443
 Then fifteen *Dynasties* containing - - - - - 1703
 2146 Years.

Then our learned Author cries out, “ This comes so near to the Reckon-
 “ ing of the *Septuagint*, that I believe such another Instance of any two or
 “ more old *Historians* of different *Ages* and *Countries*, agreeing so nearly with
 “ one another for so long a Course of Years, can hardly be produced.” †

But upon all this I may observe, (1.) That it can be no Wonder that there
 should be a near Agreement betwixt these *Egyptian* Antiquities of *Manetho*
 and the *Septuagint* Chronology ; since the former were framed out of the lat-
 ter, to be conformed to them, by laboured Calculations ; and accommodating
 Lunar to Solar Years for Deception's sake, and to hide the Theft. (2.) If
Manetho's had been extracted from *Egyptian* Records, how could it happen
 that *Herodotus*, from the Information of the *Egyptian* Priests, who must have
 had the same Records, should compute from *Menes* to *Amasis*, not very long
 before *Nectanebus*, 341 Generations of Men consisting of above 11000 Solar
 Years ? How came *Manetho* to know so much better than *Herodotus* ? By
 no other Means, doubtless, but this, that he had perused the *Greek* Version
 of the sacred Books of the *Hebrews*, and conversed with learned *Jews* on
 those Subjects ; otherwise it would surely be much more astonishing, that
Manetho, who must have used the same *Egyptian* Records, should agree with
 the *Jewish* Computations within about 50 Years, during a Space of above
 2000 ; and yet he should not agree within 9000 Years, in computing the
 same Period, with his Predecessor *Herodotus*, who wrote but about 150 Years
 before him, and had his Informations from the *Egyptian* Priests, who used
 the same Records with *Manetho* himself. (3.) Notwithstanding the Officious-
 ness of our *Christian* Chronologers in endeavouring to make Sense of the Fables
 of the old *Egyptians*, which are in themselves Absurdity and Nonsense ; yet
 insuperable Difficulties still embarrass the Attempt. Our Author particularly
 makes the twelve Gods of *Egypt* to end with *Arphaxad*, as being really meant
 of

* *Twells's Appendix*, p. 53.

† *Ibid.* p. 60.

of the twelve Patriarchs of *Moses*. But in this there must be several Mistakes. For *Herodotus* knew something of the twelve Gods; and yet he reckoned many thousand Solar Years, after the last of their Reigns. Then again; there were at first eight of these Gods, and then four more were added to the Number. But, by what Distinction we can make out a Superiority in Honour to Eight only of the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs, I cannot comprehend. Again, further, that the *Ancestors* of the *Egyptian* Nation should be among the Rebels, even their *Menes* himself; and be concerned in dethroning the two last of the Gods, or revolting from any lawful Authority they had over them, (according to Dr. *Twells's* Explication of this Event) is too reproachful to be imputed to the *Egyptian* Historians. From all I have said on this Head of *Manetho*, it is probable that the *Egyptians* had no ancient, genuine Records for *Manetho* to consult, any more than *Herodotus's* Instructors; and, if he had any more correct Accounts of Time, they were all stolen from the *Septuagint*, however disguised. But I suspect, from *Diodorus's* so much following the fabulous Antiquities of *Egypt*, that *Manetho* did not communicate even to his own Countrymen, the grand Secret of his borrowing his Computations from the *Septuagint*, but trusted the Credit of his whole Composition to these Pillars in *Seriad*, which (I suppose) were to be passed on the *World* as a Discovery of his own.

I shall add no more to what I have said on these ancient Fables of *Manetho*, but an Illustration of it, by a parallel Case, within more known Time. Let us suppose *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, full of the Notions of the Antiquity of his Countrymen, the *Welsh*, among whom he lived, to have undertaken an History of our *British* Monarchs of the *Trojan* Line, in such a Manner, as *Manetho* did his *Egyptian Dynasties*. They must each have proceeded much in the same Way. *Geoffrey* flourished under our King *Henry I.* In that Age, the Works of *Eusebius*, *Syncellus*, *Cedrenus*, &c. were all in being. And, if the *Greek* Authors should be supposed to be then but little known among the *Latin* and *Western* Churches; yet *St. Jerome* had translated *Eusebius's Chronicon* into *Latin*, so that the Knowledge of that great Treasury of Antiquity must be easy. As he had a Taste of History, it is reasonable to suppose that he would procure these and other Authors for illustrating that Subject. And, as he was Bishop of *St. Asaph*, a Man of Rank and Fortune, as well as Learning, it could not be difficult for him to procure all Assistances from Books of Chronology and History, necessary to his Design. He, like *Manetho*, formed a Scheme to amplify the Antiquities of his Country. And, having in those ancient Books a tolerable Standard of Time, he might easily calculate how much Time had lapsed, betwixt these two Periods, the Fall of *Troy*, and the Invasion of *Cæsar*. And he might fill up that Space of Duration with such a Number of Reigns, as would, in the common Course of Nature, be about equal to that Space.—From *Eusebius* and others, he might learn that the Fall of *Troy* was about 1237 Years before *Christ*, as *Usher* calculated,

culated, and that *Julius Cæsar's* Invasion was some Years before. Accordingly he recites 63 Reigns inclusive, from *Brutus*, the *Trojan* Prince, to *Castiblan*, who was on the Throne when *Cæsar* invaded our Island. He could further know by many Observations, what Length of Time Kings commonly reign apiece, one with another. Suppose him to have reckoned 20 Years to a Reign, then $63 \times 20 = 1260$ Years. May we not here cry out with *Dr. Twells*, what a surprising Coincidence is betwixt the Computations of foreign Nations as to the Length of their Times, and our old *British* Monuments as to the Transactions of this Island.

Yet it is very well known that no *British* Memoirs concerning this Period from *Troy* to *Cæsar*, are once mentioned by any other Authors. It was all a Fable of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. He knew the Distance from the Destruction of *Troy* to *Cæsar's*, *British* Expedition, according to the Reckoning of the Ancients. He knew that *Fathers* were commonly, tho' not always, succeeded by their Sons in their Thrones; that some Kings are good, and others bad, and accordingly he wrote indeed a much more natural Fable than *Ctesias*, or *Manetho*. But yet, of our *British* Ancestors, he knew little more than *Ctesias* did of the old *Affyrians*, or *Manetho* of the old *Egyptians*. Their Histories of these several Periods were all three equally Fables, only differing in this, that our *British* Fabulist has shewn the most good Sense, and Consistency with Nature in his Fable.

S E C T. III.

On Herodotus and Diodorus's Egyptian Antiquities from the Egyptian Priests in their Age.

NEITHER *Herodotus*, nor *Diodorus Siculus*, nor the Priests, their Instructors in *Egyptian* Antiquities, had any genuine ancient Records of that Country which were elder than about the Days of *Solomon*. *Herodotus*, who professed to have consulted no Records, but to have had his Informations from the Priests, calculates the Duration of the Monarchy from the Reigns of their Gods and Demi-gods, in this Manner:—There were, at first, eight great Gods, who successively reigned; and afterwards they had four added to them, so that they were Twelve in Number.* *Hercules* was the last that was translated into the Number of the twelve Gods (for they had several others besides the Twelve) and, from his Deification to the Reign of *Amasis*, the *Egyptians* computed 17000 Years.†—Again; after he has related the History of *Sethos*, the Priest of *Vulcan*, who was made King, and was Contemporary with *Sennacherib*, he tells us “That, from the first King “to this Priest of *Vulcan*, the *Egyptian* Priests computed the Race of mortal “Kings

* *Herodot. Euterp. c. 145.*

† *Ibid. c. 43.*

"Kings to have continued 341 Generations. And that they had had an equal Number of High-Priests as Kings: That 300 Generations answered to 10,000 Years, for three Generations are 100 Years: That the forty-one Generations above the 300, amounted to 1340 Years; and that, during all this Space of Time, of 11340 Years, there had no God appeared in Human Form, or had reigned in *Egypt*. For Proof of the Truth of their Calculations, the Priests introduced our Traveller into a grand Apartment, shewing him an answerable Number of wooden *Colossi*, or Statues, of the High-Priests, in lineal Descent, every one of which was the Son of the preceding High-Priest.*" — But *Herodotus* further distinctly tells us, "That before this Race of mortal Men, the Gods, inhabiting among Mankind, reigned in *Egypt*, and that one of them always held the Dominion in Succession. The last of which was *Orus*, the Son of *Osiris*, who is called among the *Greeks*, *Apollo*; as *Osiris* is *Bacchus*. *Apollo*, after he defeated *Typho*, was the last of THE GODS who held the Government of *Egypt*." † *Pan* was reckoned among the *Egyptians* the eldest of the eight first, or greatest Gods; *Hercules*, one of the second Gods, or one of the Twelve. *Bacchus* was one of the third Class, who were supposed to be begotten of the former Twelve. From *Hercules* to *Amasis*, they reckoned 17000 Years, as I have said, from the Reign of *Pan* a greater Number, and from the last of the Gods, they computed no less than 15000 Years to the Reign of *Amasis*. ‡

Diodorus Siculus, who consulted the same Original Historians, the Priests of *Egypt*, had Accounts much more amplified than *Herodotus*. For, though they both begin their History from the Reign of the Gods, yet *Diodorus*'s Calculations are the larger. For, says he, they fabulously relate, "That the Gods and Demi-gods reigned almost 18000 Years, and that after the Gods, the last of which was *Orus*, the Son of *Isis*, the ensuing Time of the Reigns of mortal Men was about 15000 Years, about 33000 Years in all, to the 180th *Olympiad*, when I myself came into *Egypt*, in the Reign of *Ptolemy*." ||

He elsewhere gives another Computation, "The Priests of *Egypt* compute from the Reign of *Sol* to the passing of *Alexander* into *Asia*, about 23000 Years. And that the most ancient of their Gods reigned 1200 Years, and the later no less than 300 Years apiece." § But, this Number of Years seeming incredible, *Diodorus* mentions some, who have not hesitated to affirm, that the Years in the first Reigns were *Lunar*, and that, in the latter, the Reckoning was by four Months to a Year. But this is not pretended to be the Account of the *Egyptian* Antiquaries, but Conjecture, to answer what was taken for a Difficulty, and Incredibility in their Story.

And it may be further remarked, that *Diodorus* seems to have had some Hints of the Augmentations of the Account in the old Chronicle and *Manetho*;

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* *Herodot. Euterp. cap. 142, 143.* † *Ibid. Lib. II. c. 144.* ‡ *Ibid. c. 145.* || *Diodor. Sic. Lib. I. cap. 4.* § *Lib. I. cap. 2.*

tho; since he computes the Duration of the Monarchy to his own Times, 33000 Years, which was near their Computation of their Reigns of the Gods and Mortals together. But nothing can afford greater and more Suspicions of Fiction, or that they had no Records, or genuine Memoirs, than this, that every new Historian should still represent their Antiquity, greater than the former had done, tho' they end about the same Period. Thus *Herodotus*, who was the oldest Writer, represented their Antiquity some Hundreds of Years less, than either the *old Chronicle*, or *Manetho*, or *Diodorus*, even about a thousand Years less; and yet he reckons from the Beginning to about the same Period. There could not therefore be any authentic, original Records, or any authentic Copies of those Originals, in the Hands of the Priests, or in their Temples, in the Days of either *Herodotus*, or *Manetho*, or *Diodorus Siculus*; because the Duration of the Monarchy is stretched in all their Accounts, far beyond the Beginning of the World, if *Moses's* Account must be allowed. And that *Moses's* Account is near right, the Novelty of Arts and Sciences is a Demonstration.

S E C T. IV.

Other Arguments to prove that they had no genuine ancient Records in Egypt.

THE following Series of Arguments will, I apprehend, render it further probable that they had no ancient Records at all. I think I have proved some of them before, therefore I shall but name them here. (1.) There could be no Alphabetical, written History before the Days of *Moses*, to whom this Art was divinely revealed; as I have urged at large already.* (2.) There could not have been a Traduction of that Art from the *Hebrews* to other Nations, for some Ages at least, suppose about the Days of *Solomon*; as, I think, I have also proved.† (3.) There could have been no good History or Chronology of those very ancient Times, made out from the Traditional Stories of those remote Ages, for so many Generations, without the Use of Letters.

Tradition must have been near the same then, that it has been ever since; except the Difference in Longevity towards the Beginning. And we know what a precarious Foundation it is, on which to build any solid Fabric of History, even for a Century or two. If it were not for Writing, we in these Kingdoms should now know little of the *Parliament Wars* begun in 1641. Less of the Wars of *Queen Elizabeth's* Time, about a Century before; little of the Struggles about the *Reformation*; and nothing at all of the Wars of the two Rival Branches of the Royal Family, the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

* Chap. II. Vol. II.

† Chap. V.

eaſter. In private Families, which are too obſcure for Records, ſcarce any can give Account of their Great Great Grandfathers, or in what Reign they lived, by any Family Traditions. The very Neighbours to a Seat of a Battle know little of it, tho' they have told the Story ſo often over, from Generation to Generation. Thoſe who live near *Leiceſter*, know ſome obſcure Stories about the Action where *Richard III.* fell. Thoſe near *York* know ſomething of the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*; and thoſe near *Dunbar*, ſeem to know rather more of the Engagement betwixt *Cromwell* and the *Scots*, near that Place; but they know nothing of the Story of thoſe ſeveral Reigns, except that one; and we cannot determine how much, even of this Story, is owing to Books.

(4.) Tho' the *Egyptians* ſo much boaſted of the immense Antiquities of their Nation, yet their main Argument for it was not drawn from any genuine, written Records among themſelves, or the Traditions of their Anceſtors, that there were Generations of Men in *Egypt*, before there were any to be found in other Countries; and that they had travelled to other Lands, and found them unpeopled. But they argued from the happy Temperature and Benignity of the Climate, and the *proliſic* Inundations of the *Nile*. And that Nature had a peculiar Energy for the Propagation of the firſt Men, as well as other Animals. And they inferred that it was ſo, on theſe natural Accounts, not from any Hiſtory of it. This is *Diodorus's* Account.* And the learned *Profeſſor Jameson* takes Notice of this kind of Proof of Antiquity in other Countries.† As from the *Ethiopians*, “ who ſay they muſt “ have been the firſt of all Men becauſe neareſt the Sun.”‡ And yet others put in the ſame Claim to Priority of Birth from another Argument, even their greater Degree of Cold, or better Temperament of their Seasons; as the *Scythians*.|| The Uſe I would make of theſe Argumentations on their Original, made by themſelves, is only this, to ſhew that they had not any Records from the Beginning, to which to appeal, and therefore ſupplied them with Fables and precarious Reasonings.

5. It is farther plain that the *Egyptian* Priests had no authentic Records of ancient Times to refer to, in the Reports they made to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, becauſe they are ſo widely different from *Manetho*, and each other. § “ It is very remarkable, (ſays the learned *Biſhop Cumberland*) that the *Egyptian* Priests, who informed *Herodotus* in their Hiſtory and Religion, differed “ ſo much, viz. about 6000 Years, from *Manetho*, their Brother-Priest at “ *Sabenne*.**

Had they been, *bonâ fide*, extracted from any authentic Records, or any genuine, ancient Columns and Inſcriptions, they would have related nearly the ſame Things, as far as they went with each; and would only have differed, where the Record failed them.†† But diſagreeing Accounts of the ſame

* *Diodor. Sic. Lib. I. cap. 1.* † *Spicileg. Ægyptiac. p. 280.* ‡ *Diodor. Sic. Lib. III. cap. 1.*
 || *Juſtin. Lib. II. cap. 1.* § *Vid. Dodwell, Sanchon. p. 113, 114.* ** *Cumberl. Sanchon. p. 311.*
 †† *Joſeph. contra Apion.*

same Ages, given by their most celebrated Authors, must minister great Ground of Suspicion, that they had no genuine Memoirs. Accordingly *Diodorus* hints his own Opinion that they had not any. For (says he) "who were the first Kings, we ourselves can neither assert, nor agree with those Historians who affirm they know, for it is not possible that the Account given of Affairs should be so ancient, as to be Contemporary with the first Kings." * How could it happen, if they had any Records, that three successive Historians, of great Capacity and Application, should report Things with such flagrant Inconsistency, which are the most fundamental Things in History; such as the Age of the Monarchy, the Numbers, Names, and Actions of their Kings. There is nothing parallel to this Inconsistency in any Country, where genuine Records have been preserved. The Kings of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Spain*, &c. are in all the Histories very near the same, as to the Names, Numbers, Succession and Duration, before Printing, as well as since. Have we any, that are pretended to be genuine Histories, that transplant Actions a Century or two from their true Place? Is the Conquest of this Island by the *Romans*, or *Saxons*, fixed some hundred Years sooner or later, in one History than in another? And yet *Herodotus* and *Manetho*, both from the *Egyptian* Priests, differ about 6000 Years, in their Accounts of the Duration of the same Monarchy. Doth any Historian, *French* or *English*, ascribe the successful Actions of *Poitiers* or *Cressy* to our *Edward I.* or postpone the Triumphs of *Agincourt* to our *Henry VIII.* Are the Patriot Victories of the House of *Nassau* antedated so, as to be transplanted to the Beginning of the *Spanish* Monarchy? Are the great Actions of *Sidney*, *Essex*, or *Raleigh*, brought down by any Historians, to the unconquering Reign of *Charles II.*; or the Heroic *Churchill's* Victories carried back to the Age of *Queen Elizabeth*? They are not: And why? Because we have genuine Memoirs of all these great Events, which determine the proper Actors, and fix the Dates of Actions, pretty near their true Time.

But the *Pagan* Historians had no Notion of the Succession of TIME, regularly measured from any fixed Point. They knew not, from any Memoirs of their own, whether the World was 5, or 10, or 50 Thousand Years old. In this State of Things, *Christian* Chronologers, in attempting to synchronize these unknown, fabulous Times and Reigns, with the only known and genuine Chronology in the World, namely, the *Hebrew*, have endeavoured to fix Dates to the *Pagan* Fables, of which the Authors had not the least Notion. Thus *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* tell us that one *Menes* was the first mortal King who reigned after the Gods; yet that there had been many mortal Kings before, who were afterwards deified, or made into Gods. Again; that there were many Sydereal, or Elementary Gods, who had reigned as Kings in *Egypt*. As the Sun, Moon, Planets and other Stars; which now reign over the Seasons, as much as ever they did, either before *Menes* or the *Heroes*.

How

* *Diodor. Sic. Lib. I. cap. 1.*

How should these ever have been Kings, *more* than they are *now*? They are just as they have been, ever since the Creation. These are the Fables of the Gods; but as to any *Actions*, or Times of *succeeding* each other, these Gods, *namely*, the Sun, Moon, &c. never had any Existence, different from what they have now, in the Sydereal Dominion over the Universe. And this further appeareth, by the Inaccuracy of our Christian Correctors of these Fables. *Herodotus* says that *Menes* reigned next after the Gods, *namely*, the deified Men, immediately after *Orus* the Son of *Osiris*; * and that he built *Memphis*. † But, when he reigned, he knows not; only that it was above 11000 Years from his Reign to *Sethos*, the Contemporary of *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria*. ‡ Now this *Menes* has, by most Christian Chronologers, been taken for the *Misraim* of *Moses*. But, according to the exactest and most judicious Writer that ever handled this Subject, || he was *Memnon*, at the Distance of above 1000 Years. Again; *Sesostris* conquered *Asia*. But, as the *Egyptians* knew nothing of the Time of his Reign, so they have set down no Circumstances, by which Historians have been led to agree about his Age. Some have thought it was in the Time, when the *Israelites* were in the Wilderness, and that he was the Son of that *Pharaoh*, who perished in the *Red Sea*. This Opinion the learned Primate *Usher* § espouseth, and Bishop *Cumberland*, * and others follow him. But others, as Sir *John Marsham*, Professor *Jameson*, Sir *Isaac Newton*, suppose him to have been *Sesac* in *Rehoboam's* Reign, many hundred Years after. How comes all this Absurdity, the greatest that can be in History, into the *Egyptian* Antiquities? Even thus; they had no Records before this *Sesac's* Reign. And, when they found that some other Nations, particularly the *Hebrews*, had written Memoirs of long Continuance; they invented their own History, and antedated Actions which were but recent, to fill up that Time which was elapsed, before they had any Records, and hereby, jumbling Truth with Fable, they confounded and obscured all their National Story.

S E C T. V.

Enquiry into the Usefulness of Hieroglyphics to History.

IT may be alledged, “That, tho’ they had not the Knowledge of *Alphabetical Writing*, yet the *Egyptians* had the Use of *Hieroglyphics*, no body “ knows how long before *Moses*.” — But, whatever Weight there may be in this Argument (if the Fact could be proved) to make out this Point, *namely*, their Capacity for Writing, yet what I have just now offered, plainly sheweth, that they had not made Use of it, to any valuable Purposes of History.

Since

* *Herod. Euterp. c. 144.*† *Ibid. c. 100.*‡ *Ibid. c. 142.*|| *Newt. Chron. Amend.*§ *Usher. Annal. p. 21.** *Cumberl. Sancho. p. 402.*

Since their most celebrated Historians are so irreconcilably contradictory and inconsistent; for they must *all* have drawn their Materials from the *same* Records, if there were any at all genuine and intelligible; whether they had been in hieroglyphic, or any other Writing. But further, (1.) It is hard to conceive how *Hieroglyphics*, viz. Pictures, or Symbols, could be accommodated to the Use of *History*. How could they express their King's Names, which was absolutely necessary, when they pretended to give long Lists of them. Whatever painted, or symbolical Representation they made use of, to set forth their successive Monarchs, yet they must distinguish them one from another, some way equivalent to what Names do. *Menes*, *Sesostris*, and the like, are as distinguishing as *Henry*, *Edward*, or *George*, in Alphabetical Writing; but any Pictures or Symbols to express these Names, or any Thing equivalent, must be very perplexing, and I think almost useless. "They would, says the learned Dr. *Shuckford*, be but a very imperfect Character.* "Many, nay, most Occurrences could be represented but by Halves. The "Egyptians (says he) intermingled *Letters* with their *Hieroglyphics*, to fill "up and connect Sentences, and express Actions; and there would have "been much wanting in all Relations, i.e. *Inscriptions* to give their full and true "Meaning.† Again; this Picture-Character would have been unintelligible; unless Persons, in the early Times, could be supposed to delineate the Forms and Pictures of Things more accurately than can well be imagined."

But, if they had not *Alphabetical Letters* to connect Sentences, as Dr. *Shuckford* suggests, but had only *Hieroglyphics*, or Symbols, it must be very difficult to distinguish their Names or Actions. If one chose to be represented by a Lion, another by a Tyger, another by a Crocodile, an Elephant, a Fox, an Horse, a Bull, a Dog, an Eagle, an Hawk, a Serpent, as they thought expressive of their different Dispositions, and distinguishing Qualities; yet it is almost impossible, thro' all Nature, to assign Variations of Symbol to answer such a List of Kings as *Manetho* gives, in full *Distinction*, as Names do. If one affected to be called *Lion*, or *Tyger*, all did not. And we have not *Lion* I, II, III, IV, &c. i.e. with these Numeral Marks added to the Picture of a Lion.—I am sensible that most ancient Names were given from some Original Event, to which the Name had a Reference; as *Cain*, *Seth*, *Noah*. But then they were first in Words, or articulate Sounds; and, if these Words were intelligibly recorded, it must have been in *Alphabetical Letters*. Several of the *Hebrew* proper Names had some Reference to the Name of God, being compounded with *Jah*, *Jehovah*, *Elohim*, *Adonai*; so the *Assyrian* Names were compounded of the Names of *their Gods*. But how to keep the Variety of the *Idea* in *Symbol*, seems impossible. As *Praise* of God,
Love

* *Shuckf. Connect.* Vol. II. p. 295.

† *N. B.* But if they had not Letters, they could have no Relief from their Obscurity this Way, for they could not intermix what they had not.

Love of God, *Glory* of God, *Strength* of God, *Holiness* of God, and such like, which are so easy to be preserved either in *Speech*, or in *Alphabetical Writing*. Some Names, taken from particular Actions, or Virtues, must be equally difficult to describe in Symbol. A Verb in all its different Formations, to express the Mode and Time of Action; or a Noun, in all its Cases or Relations to other Things. Thus, if they would relate the Story of *Isaac's* Birth and Name, and the Occasion of it, in an hieroglyphic Narration; that Sarah *laughed*, that she had a Son, and he was called *Laugh*, that she said on that Occasion, they will *laugh* with me, *Gen. xxi. 3, 6.* and God has made me to *laugh*. If they had nothing but *Hieroglyphics*, by which to express this whole Story, I cannot see how it was possible to place this hieroglyphic Symbol so as to render all this Account concerning *Isaac* intelligible.

(2.) Again; I imagine, that their being called *Hieroglyphics*, or *sacred* Marks, intimates that they were not at first designed for *common* Use; but for the Purposes of their Superstition, which they called *Sacred*; and for the Priests, for their Secrets, or *Mysteries*. How their *common* Writing should be called *sacred* Sculpture, is not easy to apprehend. Why it should be called *sacred* Writing or Engraving, which was applied to every *common*, private Use, to set down the Price of a Cow, or Goat, or Sheep, a Piece of Land, or common Furniture; as a Table, or Stool, or Pot, or any other the most mean domestic Things, or even for managing the most criminal Correspondences, seems hard to conceive.

(3.) I further most incline to think that *Hieroglyphics* were invented by the Priests, after the Discovery of *Alphabetical Letters* in *Sesac's* and *Solomon's* Time. Common Letters would make Learning cheap and vulgar, for this Reason they invented *Hieroglyphics*, or *sacred* Letters; in which they concealed, or pretended to conceal, their most *sacred* *Mysteries*; and, in which it might have been afterwards pretended that their ancient Records were wrote, to hide their Novelty and Imposture from the World, as the Translation of the Pillars in *Seriad* were said to be.

C H A P. XI.

On the ancient Phœnician Records.

I DO not apprehend that much depends on the Antiquities of this Country, as to their National and Civil History; since all that is pretended to remain of their Records is confined to the Age of *Abibalus* the Father of *Hiram*, *David's* Friend. But this seems to be directly within my Design, and subservient to it, as I am attempting *an History of Religious Knowledge*.

S E C T. I.

On Sanchoniathon, the Eldest Phœnician Author.

OUR first Enquiry must be who this Author was. There is one *Phœnician* Author of great pretended Antiquity, *Sanchoniathon*, who professeth to write an History of the Origin of all Things from the Beginning of the World, and from the first Man; and of the Generations of Mankind in a lineal Descent from *Protogonus* to *Thoth*. He was, by Birth, a Native of *Phœnicia*, and a Citizen of *Berytus*; and drew up his History in the Language of his Country. His Character according to *Porphry*, as cited by *Eusebius*,* is this, "That he wrote with great Fidelity of the Affairs of the
 " *Jews*: As a Proof of which he tells us that he made use of the same
 " Names of Persons and Places, which were used in the *Jewish* Writings."
 Which, by the Bye, is no great Proof of his *Fidelity*; since he might have wrote either Truth or Falsehood concerning any People, tho' he had used the same Names with themselves. Yet it betrays another Truth, which *Porphry* or *Philo* did not design to reveal, and perhaps did not so much as suspect, viz. that it was borrowed from the *Jewish* Records, however disguised and spoiled in his Hands.—His Translator, *Philo Byblius*, is cited by the same learned Father, *Eusebius*;† giving this Account of him, "That he
 " was a Person of great and extensive Learning, πολυμαθὴς αὐτός. And that,
 " having a particular Passion for Antiquity, he examined all the Monu-
 " ments of the eldest Times, by which he might obtain Informations, in
 " those favourite Enquiries."

S E C T. II.

On the Authorities he professed to make use of.

WE are next to consider his *Authorities*, or the Originals, from whence he drew his Intelligence.

(1.) *Philo* tells us, ‡ "That having the greatest Curiosity to be acquainted
 " with the Origin of Things, and a general History of all from the Begin-
 " ning; he set himself, with particular Application, to the Study of the
 " Writings of *Taautus*; and he was excited to so accurate a Search of this
 " most ancient Author; because he was well assured that *Taautus* was the
 " first Person under the Sun, who invented Letters, and began the Writing
 " of Memoirs, and that he was the same with the *Egyptian Thoth*." This, I
 imagine,

* *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. p. 31. Edit. Paris.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I.*

imagine, is equivalent to a Confession, that, having such a Passion for Antiquity, and hearing of the Works of *Moses*, the celebrated *Egyptian*, he procured a Sight of them, or otherwise some Knowledge of them, by Conversation with his *Hebrew* Neighbours. *Moses's* Writings do really contain such History, as his Curiosity led him particularly to enquire after, even the Generation of the World. And he was further induced to this Scrutiny into this Author, as he understood that *Moses* [or *Thoth*] was the first Person, who invented or made use of *Letters*; and that he was an *Egyptian* of great Note and Significancy.

It may be worthy of our Enquiry here, How he came to think that *Thoth*, i. e. *Moses* was the first Writer? This seems to me to have been handed down by *Tradition* among the *Jews*; tho' *Moses* himself doth not directly assert it. For, as it must have been known to be true, by all the *Jews* in general, at the Time of giving the Law, that they had no Writing before that Event; and all that People knew, that they never were without it afterwards; they would be apt frequently to make this Observation among themselves; and, when they came to impart the Knowledge of Writing to their Neighbours, who would be apt to ask how they came by this peculiar Art, it would be very natural to mention its Date and Author, namely, *Moses*. We may here note, that so remarkable a *Tradition* as this concerning *Moses* being their first Writer, which was but one Fact, might have been conveyed by Tradition to the Age of *Samuel*, which was not many hundred Years from the Transactions of Mount *Sinai*, tho' it would have been very difficult to have conveyed a large System of Knowledge in that Way. And as the *Phœnicians* had received the Knowledge of *Letters* but a little before our Author's Time, if he really was Contemporary with *Abibalus*, so he has here preserved this ancient Part of *Jewish* Tradition.

(2.) He had further Intelligence from a Priest of the God *Jeuo*, or *Jehovah*. This is an additional Confession of the true Origin and Source of his Intelligence, from which he was gratified in all his Desires. This was the Name of God, owned among no neighbouring Nation, except the *Hebrews*, therefore it must have been a *Jewish* Priest, from whom he had all his Discoveries concerning the *Primeval* State of the World, and all his other remote Antiquities. This was the very Basis both of his Cosmogony and Genealogies. The *Phœnicians* (as we have said) towards the North-west were not in War with the *Hebrews*, as the *Philistines* so frequently were, in the South-west Part of the Coast. It is probable that there was, on the contrary, a good Correspondence in general, betwixt the *Sidonians* and the *Hebrews*. 'Tis plain, by the *Scripture-History*, that it was so in the victorious Reign of *David*, and the polite Reign of *Solomon*. And there is no Ground to suspect but it might be the same in the Times of *Samuel* and *Saul*, when *Abibalus* began to flourish.

In these Circumstances, a curious, inquisitive Person, like *Santhoniaton*, hearing that there were written Records among *them* of the ancient Times, (a Subject so agreeable to his Taste) might go to some eminent City of the *Hebrews*, famous for *learned* Men, to gather Informations; and to make Acquaintance with some eminent Men of the Place, a Priest of *JEHOVAH*, *e. gr.* the venerable Prophet *Samuel*. Our Traveller, either by Conversation with this *Hebrew* Priest, or by a Sight of the Book of *Genesis*, or both, might easily obtain a Knowledge of the History of the Creation, and the first State of the World till after the Flood. This was so short a Work, as far as a General History went; and the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* Language must, at that Time, have been so similar, that he could easily understand it, and might as easily commit it to Memory, or Writing; which we may suppose our *Phœnician* Antiquary to understand before, tho' perhaps not long before. This, I apprehend, was the real Foundation of his History.

(3.) He further extracted his History from the Records laid up in the Archives of their Cities and Temples, as *Eusebius* informs us from *Philo*, that he dedicated it to *Abibalus* King of *Berytus*, and that it was not only approved by the King himself, but by all the inquisitive Men about the Court, who were the most scrupulous Inquirers after Truth, ἐξελασεν τῆς ἀληθείας.— We may observe, concerning this Testimony to the Character of his Work, that there could not probably be any Records of much Antiquity, since the Knowledge of *Letters* could have been but *recent* among them. Again; their Temples were such *small* Places at that Time, that they would have been very improper Repositories for Records; being but small Houses for the erecting Idols, or little Statues. And further; as they would have been incommodious for their Size, so they must have been insecure on Account of their Slenderness. They were not comparable in Magnitude to that of *Solomon*, as *Solomon's* Message to *Hiram* imports, 2 *Chron.* ii. 5. *The House which I build, is GREAT, for GREAT is our God above all Gods.*

Further still, *Abibalus* and his Court could not be supposed to approve of a Work, as drawn from *ancient* Records, when he knew that there could be none much elder than his own Reign. I should rather (as we have said before) suspect this to be a Fiction and Flourish of *Philobiblius*, to gain the more Credit to his Author, if he had really such a one to translate.

S E C T. III.

On the Age of Sanchoniathon.

OUR next Inquiry must be concerning the Age of the World when our Author lived. (1.) *Porphry* supposeth him to have lived before, or about, the *Trojan* War, and to have been Contemporary with *Semiramis*. But this Observation demonstrateth, how little the *Greeks* knew of *Eastern* Chronology, and how little so great an Inquirer, as *Porphry*, regarded *Ctesias*, or *Diodorus*, that followed him, in their Accounts of *Assyrian* Antiquities. But yet this Hint of *Porphry* in synchronizing the *Trojan* Times with the Age of *Semiramis*, is nearer to the *Hebrew* Calculations, than any *Pagan* Ancient I have ever met with. It seems also to be the nearest to *Herodotus* of any of the *Pagan* Writers.* For, if *Troy* was taken in the Reign of *Jehoram*, the *Assyrian* Empire might be growing considerable. And *Pul*, or *Bell*, or *Belus*, appeared in the third Reign after *Jehoram* reigned in *Jerusalem*. And *Pul* might be old at that Time, 2 *Kings* xiv. 25.

(2.) The true Age of *Abibalus* must be gathered from the *Phœnician* Annals, referred to by *Josephus*, in his first Book against *Apion*. † *Josephus* informs us, “ That the *Tyrians* had their public Records, which they carefully preserved; in which were written the most material Transactions relating both to themselves and other neighbouring Nations. In which was particularly recorded that *Solomon* built the Temple at *Jerusalem* 148 Years and eight Months before the *Tyrians* built *Carthage*.”

Dius, another *Phœnician* Author, thought to be an exact Historian, is cited by *Josephus*, thus; “ That *Abibalus* dying, he was succeeded by *Hiram*, the great Friend of *Solomon*. In which History is mentioned their Inter-course in sundry Problems proposed to each other, and *Solomon*’s superior Sagacity and Penetration is acknowledged.”—But the most accurate Account of the *Phœnician* Affairs, and most directly to our Purpose, is contained in the Writings of *Menander* of *Ephesus*. In which is a regular Succession of *Phœnician* Princes, from *Abibalus* to *Pygmalion*. *Mochus*, another Historian, mentioned by *Tatian*, ‡ with two others who were translated into *Greek*, and seem to have been Chronologists, further prove, that their Records were not very ancient. In those King’s Reigns, of which these Authors give an Account, it is set down when *Menelaus* came into *Phœnicia*. They also mention *Hiram*, and *Solomon*’s marrying his Daughter; and the Wood which *Hiram* gave *Solomon* for his Works and Buildings.

From

* *Dodw.* p. 4. *Marsh. Can. Chron.* Sec. 17. p. 522. *Edit. Lip.* † *Joseph. cont. Ap. Lib. I.* Sect. 17, 18, 19. ‡ *Tatian. contr. Græc.* p. 171.

From all these Authors we may, with tolerable Satisfaction, determine the Age of *Abibalus*, and consequently the Age of this celebrated Writer, *Sanboniathon*.

(1.) 'Tis manifest, from *Josephus*, that *Abibalus* was their first Monarch, of which any Mention was made, either in their authentic, National Records, or by any of their Historians, who had come to the Knowledge of this inquisitive Jew. Had their Records been larger, or elder, than he has represented them, *Josephus* could have been easily confuted at that Time.

(2.) Whether their Kings reigned at *Berytus*, *Sidon*, or *Tyre*, they were all called *Phœnician* Kings; just as our *English* Monarchs are called *English*, whether they kept their Court at *London*, *York*, *Lincoln*, or *Winchester*. The learned *Bochart* has therefore but a precarious Basis for his Opinion, that the *Abibalus* of *Sanboniathon*, was an older Prince and King of *Berytus*, different from that *Abibalus* King of *Tyre*, mentioned by the *Phœnician* Records and Historians, as the Father of *Hiram*, the Friend of *Solomon*.

*Bochart's** Opinion is founded on nothing but a Persuasion entirely precarious, that *Sanboniathon* was more ancient than the Times of *David*.

(3.) It further appeareth, from *Menander* of *Ephesus*, that the List of *Phœnician* Monarchs, which he extracted from their genuine Records, were successively Princes of one Kingdom or Territory, from *Abibalus* to *Pygmalion*. And it is by all agreed that *Pygmalion* was King of *Tyre*; *Abibalus* was therefore Head of the same Line of Succession, of which *Pygmalion* was the last, before the Building of *Carthage*.†

(4.) I apprehend the Reason why *Abibalus* is the first Monarch in their Records, may be, not that he was the first that ever reigned there, but that he was the first after the *Phœnicians* had the Use of Writing to any due Perfection, so as to apply it to History and National Records.—The North *Phœnicians*, by their Situation near *Judæa* and their Correspondence with its *Hebrew* Inhabitants, might attain to the Knowledge of *Letters*, an Age or two sooner than the *Egyptians*, who were not in such Intercourses with them. And *Abibalus* might be an Age older than *David*, since *Solomon* married his Grand-daughter. And besides, the *Phœnicians*, especially the *Sidonians* and *Tyrrians*, being a Maritime People, they might observe the Conveniency of *Writing* for the Management of Commerce, sooner than other Nations.‡ And, as they found this surprising Art common among the *Israelites*, they would very naturally endeavour to insinuate themselves into their Friendship, for procuring so commodious an Art, sooner than other People, and they would mind it more, as they were mercantile Persons.

SECT.

* *Bochart. Can. Lib. II. cap. 17.*

† *Joseph. contr. Ap. Lib. I.*

‡ This may be the Reason why *Cadmus*, who came to *Greece* from *Tyre*, in *David's* Time, brought *Letters* first, tho' so many great Men, as *Pelasgus*, *Inachus* and *Cecrops* had come from *Egypt* before him.

S E C T. IV.

On the Work of Sanchoniathon itself.

I AM now to consider the Work itself, which is ascribed to *Sanchoniathon*. And, tho' I doubt not (if there ever was any such Work wrote in the Days of *Abibalus*) that the Originals, from which the Materials were borrowed, were the Book of *Genesis*, or the Informations of the *Jewish* Priests; yet the whole Fabric, which our Author built on that Foundation, was modelled to his own Taste. He was a *Phœnician* Idolater: And, as the learned *Banier* of the Royal Academy says, a Priest of *Berytus*; and, therefore, he was like to accommodate all the Informations he received from the *Jews* to his Country's Theological Sentiments of *Polytheism*. As he was a *Phœnician* Idolater; and, as a Priest, perhaps an inveterate one, he was desirous to do Honour to his Country and his Religion too, by drawing up a *Cosmogony* without the Mention of the One true God, as the Author. For they worshipped *Gods*, which they made themselves into Gods, even the Heavenly Bodies, and not the One God, who created those *Astereal* Deities, as well as all other Things.

This Work consisteth of two Parts, *viz.* (1.) A *Cosmogony*. And then an History of the first Generations of Mankind. For both of which there is a Pattern in *Moses*; tho' the *Phœnician* Copyist has most stupidly imitated both. (1.) He is said, as I have observed before, to have drawn the main Part of his Work from the Writings of *Tadutus*, who is supposed, by the Commentators on our Author, to be the Son of *Misraim* the Son of *Ham* in *Genesis*. This the learned Bishop *Cumberland* asserts, and builds the Validity of his History upon it. But it seems not morally possible that *Misraim* and his Son *Thoth*, who had been both educated under *Noah*, and in his Family, till the latter was arrived at a State of Manhood, should either *teach* or *write* such gross Nonsense as this *Cosmogony* is. And, tho' I have already examined this and the other *Cosmogonies* of *Paganism*, and shewn the Absurdity of them; yet it may be seasonably noted here, to illustrate the extreme Improbability of this Allegation, that *Misraim* or his Son should be the Authors of such monstrous, absurd Stuff, as this making the World without a God, and the many atheistical Fooleries, which *Sanchoniathon* here ascribes to them. If we allow that *Ham* was a *wicked* Man, (which however cannot be proved) yet it cannot be supposed that he could be so *weak* a Man, as to teach his Children that the World was made of itself, and that afterwards the Gods were made. *Ham* and his Family had too excellent an Education under *Noah*, to be capable of propagating such *Theology*. He might be ambitious, or cruel, or sensual, by the Impulse of natural Passions; but he, who was instructed

instructed by the great *Patriarch*, in so distinct a Knowledge of the *One* true God, as the *Maker* of all Things; and had been so much confirmed in all rational, religious Sentiments, by being a Witness to the tremendous Effects of the Deluge, cannot be supposed to be the Author of such atheistical Absurdities. We have now, God knows, many Persons well educated in noble, Christian Principles; who yet, by the impetuous Tyranny of their own Passions, become *wicked* Men, as *Ham* might be. But we hear of none of them, educating their Children in the stupid Idolatries of *India*, *America*, or *Africa*. So that the pretended Allegation of this Writer, that *Taautus* was his Original, and of our modern Synchronizers, that *Taautus* was *Misraim* or his Son, cannot possibly be true.

(2.) From what I have already advanced in this Essay, I think it may be concluded to be very probable, that neither *Ham*, his Sons or Grandsons of the Longeval Ages, ever left *Noah*, and so could never have been in *Phœnicia* or *Egypt*. And, (3.) I have also proved that there was no *Writing* in the World before *Moses*, and therefore there could be no *Writings* of the ancient *Tboth* or *Misraim's* Son; so that this pretended Authority must have been a Forgery.*

(4.) This ancient *Phœnician* Author is never mentioned by any other Author, from the Days of *Philobiblius* to those of *Porphry*; unless he is pointed to, in that *Sonniaithon*, whose *Phœnician* Antiquities are quoted by *Athenæus*. *Porphry*, therefore, must needs be looked on, as the Retriever of a neglected, and therefore a *suspicious* Author. For he must at those Times have been famous, if he had been thought genuine. May not the ingenious and subtil *Porphry* be suspected of this Forgery? One of his *Designs* was to confront the *Antiquity* of the Scriptures. And their best Sects of Philosophers, even the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, of which *Porphry* was an Admirer, allowing the Lawfulness of medicinal or useful Falsehoods, why may he not be suspected of this Forgery, which he might esteem a medicinal Lie?—Further; if *Santhoniathon* or *Pbilo* had been in any Reputation, before *Porphry* vouched for them, How comes it that those few Christian Writers, who mention them afterwards, should quote them at second-hand from *Eusebius*, or *Porphry*, instead of having Recourse to *Philobiblius* himself, had he been common; and why should he not have been common, had he been thought genuine? And yet *Theodoret* seems never to have seen him, as *Dodwell* observeth,† but in *Eusebius*. *Cyril of Alexandria* was so far from citing *Philobiblius*, that his Memory, on which he seems to have quoted *Eusebius*, failed him, and led him into several great Mistakes. What he urges from him, he says he had from *Clemens Alexandrinus*. [*Stromat.*] In which, as they now remain, there is no such Thing; tho' there be in *Eusebius*. He took this *Pbilo* for the famous *Pbilo Judæus*, and ascribed the Translation of *Santhoniathon* to *Josephus*.

Further

* Vid. *Dodwell. Disc. on Sanchon. passim.*

† *Dodw. Sanchon.*

Further still ; the learned *Dodwell* argueth that, besides this Silence, or these second-hand Quotations, even after he was so much applauded by *Porphyry*, which are strong Suspicions that he was not known or not regarded ; yet what should be the Reason that so useful and ancient an Author should be so little known before *Porphyry's* Days ? either among Pagans, or the old Christian Apologists who wrote before *Porphyry* ? They had great Occasion for it in their Dispute about the *Antiquity* of the Scriptures above all Heathen Authors. They drew Catalogues of all the most ancient Heathen Authors they knew of ; and yet *Sanchoniathon*, the most apposite Instance of them all, is not once mentioned. Not by *Justin Martyr*, in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, tho' he was a *Samaritan*, and must have been acquainted with the *Phœnician* Tongue, and with all the famous Books of his Neighbours the *Phœnicians* ; and yet, he says, " There was nothing *ancient* either among the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*." * How could he have said this, if he had known any Thing of this most *ancient Sanchoniathon* ? not by *Theophilus Antiochenus* in the Time of *Verus*, who was nearer the *Phœnicians* than *Greeks* ; and had special Occasion for mentioning the *Phœnician* Antiquities. † Not by *Tatian*, the Scholar of *Justin*, tho' he mentions the most ancient *Phœnician* Authors that he knew of, which were but three, *Mochus*, *Theodotus* and *Hyppocrates*, whose Works were translated into *Greek* by *Chætus* ; ‡ who writ the Lives of the Philosophers, and yet in neither Character as an Historian or Philosopher is there any Mention of *Sanchoniathon*.—He is not mentioned by *Tertullian*, in the Times of *Severus* and *Caracalla* ; tho' he had the like Occasion for mentioning him in comparing the *Pagan*, ancient Writers with *Moses*. || Nor is he taken Notice of, by *Origen* ; tho' he refers to *Josephus* against *Apion*, and to *Tatian* for a Collection of *Phœnician* Writers, who had mentioned any Thing concerning the *Jewish* Affairs. Nay, he mentions *Herennius Philo*, whom some take to be the Translator of *Sanchoniathon* himself, and yet among all the *Phœnician* Authors, neither he nor *Celsus* ever mentions *Sanchoniathon*. How could they have omitted an Author so remarkable for Antiquity, had they either of them known him ? §

Further still ; had he been so considerable as *Porphyry* pretends, he must have been known to the *Greeks* long before *Philobiblius's* Time, who was contemporary with *Adrian*, according to *Bochart*. ** The most considerable *Phœnician* Historians, *Mochus*, *Theodotus*, and *Hyppocrates*, were translated into *Greek* by *Chætus*, or *Lætus* ; as we learn from *Tatian* ; tho' we know not how long before. And the *Tyrian* Antiquities had been continued in *Greek* by *Hieronymus* of *Tyre*, *Menander* of *Ephesus*, *Dius*, *Hesticeus*, and others. †† From this Silence of Historians, Mr. *Dodwell* concludes him a Forgery.

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(5.) If

* *Just. Martyr. Cohort. ad Græc.* p. 13. Edit. Colon. † *Theophil. Antioch. Lib. III.* p. 131.
 ‡ *Tatian. contr. Græc.* p. 171. *Lætus Bochart.* p. 862. || *Tertul. Lib. II. Apolog.* cap. 19.
 § *Origen. cont. Cels. Lib. I.* p. 13, 14. ** *Bochart. Can. Lib. II. cap. 17.* p. 862. *Dodwell. Sanchon.* p. 15. †† *Bochart. ibid.*

(5.) If these Arguments under the last Head, which I have chiefly taken from *Dodwell*, concerning this Author's being so little known before *Porphry*, should not be reckoned conclusive against the Being of our Author; and I have, I think, accounted for it, how he might have Intelligence from the *Jews*, in *Abibalus's* Days; yet there are further Considerations that induce me to think that, if it was not an entire Forgery of *Philo*, as the learned *Mr. Dodwell* thought; nor a pious Fable of *Paganism*, in Imitation of the *Gnostics*, as *Ursinus* apprehended; yet however, that it was altered and interpolated by *Philo*; and that we have not the Original *Sanchoniathon* pure and unmixed. For (*first*,) a Writer contemporary with *David* could have no such Author as *Thoth*. For I take the first *Egyptian Thoth* to have been no older than the Secretary of *Osiris* or *Sesac*, who was the great Improver of *Writing*, as soon as it was known there. (*Secondly*,) A Writer, contemporary with *Abibalus*, durst not have talked of the ancient Monuments of their Cities, or Temples, as approved Authorities; when they all knew that they could have no ancient Memoirs at that Time among them. But *Philo* perhaps did not see this Absurdity, who lived so long after. (*Thirdly*,) The Mention of *deified* Men so early as the Days of *Misraim*, or *Thoth*, is a violent Suspicion of some Forgery; since it appears, from the Laws of *Moses*, that there was no Deification of Mortals till after the Law; and, I apprehend, that *Sesostris* (or *Sesac*) was the Father of this Species of Idolatry, and so it must be unknown at *Berytus* in the Time when our Author lived; according as *Porphry*, or *Philo* determine his Age contemporary with *Abibalus*.

S E C T. V.

Observations on Sanchoniathon.

I SHALL now proceed to make some Observations on the *History* of this Author; as it is distinct from the *Cosmogony*, or the Account of the Generation of the World.

(1.) It appears very obviously that there is a plain Derivation of this *Phœnician* History from *Moses*. And that in such minute Particulars as cannot be thought to have been preserved by any Tradition without Writing, to the Days of *Abibalus*. He could not therefore write his History from any ancient *Traditions*, but from *Books*; and, because there were no other ancient Books (as we have proved) it must have been from *Moses's* Writings.

(2.) He, as an Idolater, seems to have substituted the Line of *Cain*, of which he had but an imperfect Account, instead of the Line of *Seth*, in the Number and Order of which Descents he was perfectly informed by *Moses*.

This will appear by considering the Lines in *Moses* and *Sanchoniathon*.

Seth's

Seth's Line.	Cain's Line.	Cain's Line in Sanchoniathon.
1. Adam.	1. Adam.	1. Protogonus and Æon.
2. Seth.	2. Cain.	2. Genus and Genea.
3. Enosh.	3. Enoch.	3. Phos, Pur, Phlox.
4. Cainan.	4. Irad.	4. Cassius, Libanus.
5. Mahalaleel.	5. Mebujael.	5. Memroumus.
6. Jared.	6. Methusael.	6. Agreus, Alieus.
7. Enoch.	7. Lamech.	7. Krusor.
8. Methuselah.	8. Jabal-Jubal.	Technites.
9. Lamech.	9. - - - - -	9. Agros, Agreueros.
10. Noah.	10. - - - - -	10. Magus, Amynos.
The Flood - - - - ends Cain's Line, no Mention of the Flood.		
11. Japhet, Shem, Ham.	11. Sydyk. Cronus.	
12. Arphaxad.	12. Misor.	
13. Selah.	13. Thoth.	

Now these Generations of Cain's Line are but Eight, according to *Moses*, tho' *Sanchoniathon* compleats his List to Thirteen, ending with *Thoth*. Wherefore the Lines, or Number of Descents in *Sanchoniathon*, must have had no other Original but the sacred Books of the *Hebrews*, whatever he might fabulously add to the Story.

(3.) There is a manifest Affinity with the *Mosaic* Story in several Particulars in the *Phœnician* Account of the first Line. Thus our Author says, That *Æon*, (or *Eve*) first found out the Method of taking Food from Trees. What can this refer to, but her first eating the forbidden Fruit? In the second Generation, were *Genus* and *Genea*. *Genus* seems to point to *Cain's* Name. And their Dwelling in *Phœnicia*, was borrowed from *Moses's* Account of *Cain's* retiring from his Father *Adam*, to the Land of *Nod*. But, in this Place, is inserted the first Fiction of our Author, as to the Original of *Astereal Idolatry*, which he ascribes to *Cain* (or *Genus*) their *Phœnician* Patriarch, and the Father of their Idolatry. This might be a Fable of *Sanchoniathon*, since this Practice of worshipping the Sun was notoriously prevalent in the Age of *Abibalus*. But what is subjoined, namely, that the *Greeks* have misrepresented the Notions of Antiquity, cannot belong to *Sanchoniathon*, if he was an authentic Writer contemporary with *Abibalus*; this must be an Interpolation of *Philo*, or *Porphyry*, who were both *Phœnicians*. For the *Greeks* were scarce a Nation known in the World, at that Time; nor had they then drawn up any System of Theology, in the Days of *Abibalus*, who was before *Cadmus*.

Generation III. Genus's Sons were φῶς, πῦρ, φλόξ, *Light, Fire, and Flame.* These are imaginary Persons, without any Foundation in *Moses*. Which might be designed to conceal, or obscure, the Original from which he borrowed.

Generat. IV. From these fabled Fathers descended fabled Sons, the *Giants* of vast Bulk and Stature, *Cassius, Libanus, &c.* however these might perhaps be fabled from the Account which *Moses* gives of the Men of Renown, *Gen. vi. 4.*

Generat. V. From these Giants (says he) sprung *Memrumus*; who, according to *Bochart's* Reading, was called *Hyppsuranius*, or under the Heavens, *i. e.* what *Moses* calls the *Sons of Men*, or the Posterity of the *Sons of the Gods*. For the *Fathers* of the Giants were these *Sons of the Gods*, a Style to which our Author's Polytheism would easily reconcile him. He says that these Children were named by their Mothers. Women, in those Days, being (says he) so exorbitantly incontinent, that they shamelessly engaged in all promiscuous Amours, *i. e.* with those Sons of God; and therefore they named their Children. This Conjecture, concerning the Incontinency of the Women, is assigned by our Author, as the Reason why the Women named their Children; but *Moses* intimates this to have been the most frequent Practice of the Primeval Ages.—In this Generation is another Trace of the *Mosaic* Original, tho' in perverted Chronology. *Hyppsuranius* quarrelled with his Brother *Ufous*, which must be borrowed from the *Mosaic* Story of *Cain* and *Abel*. He also invented the making of *Huts* or *Habitations* of Reeds and Rushes, which alludes to *Cain's* building a *City*, or *Place of Dwelling*. And *Ufous* invented Covering for his Body out of the Skins of Beasts. For he was (as *Moses* says) a *Keeper of Sheep*.

Generat. VI. Here is another obscure Hint of his *Mosaic* Original. For as he seems to have adopted the Line of *Cain* to be the Heroes of his History; and, as it fails him in the *Mosaic* Account, he says here, *after many Years* from the Generation of *Hyppsuranius* came *Agreus* and *Hakeus*. This is to cover the Deficiency of the Line of *Cain*; for *Moses* mentions none under the Character of *Fishers*, or *Hunters*, before the famous Inventors of *Brass* and *Iron*.

Generat. VII. The Inventors of *Iron*, *Brass*, and building with *Brick*, are next mentioned, partly agreeing with *Moses*, tho' in some Things differing from him.

But in all this History there is not the least Hint of the Deluge, which seems not capable of being accounted for any other Way but this, that as he had determined to honour *Cain's* Line, on which he fathers many Branches of the primitive Idolatry; and, as he knew they were all swept away, and that Line expunged by the Flood; he therefore omitteth the Mention of it, that he might more unobserved insert the Stock of *Seth* into the Line of *Cain*, and so continue the Succession.*

The

* *Cumberl. Sanchon.*

The second Line is much more embarrassed with *Pagan* Fables than the first; and, as there is but a small Part of it that corresponds with *Moses*, and nothing that appears to me to illustrate General History, or to lay just Foundations for the modern, or ancient Method of Synchronising the Fables of *Egypt* with those Times of primitive Antiquity;—I shall add no more upon this Subject of *Sanchoniathon*, but leave the whole to the candid Consideration of the learned Reader.

C H A P. XII.

On the Astronomical Observations at Babylon.

THESE Observations are the great Foundation on which many learned Men build their Opinion of the *certain* Antiquity of *Writing*, viz. Alphabetical as I suppose. We cannot pass them over, without a particular Discussion.

1. I must remark that these Celestial Observations, which are said to have been sent by *Callisthenes* to *Aristotle*, upon the taking of *Babylon* by *Alexander the Great*, are never mentioned by any ancient Author, except one, viz. *Simplicius* in his Book *de Cælo*, Lib. II. c. 46. and he only quotes them from *Porphyry*. Now *Simplicius* could be no competent Witness of Things transacted so long before his own Time, as the Days of *Alexander*. For he was contemporary with the Emperor *Justinian*. Again; he doth not intimate that he himself ever saw those Observations.

And *Porphyry* was but a little better Authority than *Simplicius*, for he lived not long before him: Again, he is not quoted, as if he had ever seen those Originals from *Babylon*, out of which these Calculations were made.

2. The Writers of greatest Note among the *Chaldeans*, pretend to no Knowledge of such *ancient* Astronomical Observations. *Pliny* tells us that *Berosus* did not find any Account of Celestial Observations among that People, further back than about 480, or 490 Years before his own Time.* That is, that he found none before the celebrated *Æra* of *Nabonassar*. For *Berosus* dedicated his *Chaldean* Antiquities to *Antiochus Theus* King of *Syria*, whose fourth Year coincided with *An. Nabonass. 490.* according to the Calculations of the learned *Dupin*.†

Epigenes, who lived in the Times of *Augustus*;‡ and was, according to *Pliny*, a very good Writer, alloweth but 720 Years: And this comes to the same Year with the Computations of *Berosus*. For the second of *Augustus* is the 720th of the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*.|| This Epoch of *Chaldean* Observations, mentioned by *Berosus* and *Epigenes*, is further confirmed by the laborious

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. VII. c. 56.* † *Dupin. Historic. Libr. Vol. II. p. 217.* ‡ *Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 504. Edit. Lips.* || *Dupin. ibid.*

borious Search, which *Ptolemy* made after the Writings and Observations of the ancient Astronomers; yet, after all his Enquiries, he found none of the *Babylonians* older than this famous *Æra*. And, accordingly, he made use of it for a great Standard of Computation.* And *Syncellus* observeth that the *Chaldeans* did not, till after that Time, observe with any Care the Celestial Motions.†

3. We know not for what End *Porphyry* quoted these ancient Observations; whether it might be to confute them, or to argue in the Defence of *Pagan* Antiquity from them. Though, indeed, I suspect the former. For it is plain, by *Eusebius* himself,‡ that he was labouring to overturn *Porphyry's* Account of the Age of *Semiramis*, who had placed that Princess not far from the *Trojan* Times, and allowed *Moses* not only to be older than *Inachus*, one of the eldest Kings of *Greece*, but also than *Semiramis*; which *Eusebius* intimates him to have done out of Zeal against the Sacred Writers. Now, as the Transactions of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* were among the oldest Things in *Pagan* Antiquity, according to the prevailing, popular Chronology of *Ctesias* and his Followers, and which *Eusebius* himself embraced; and, as *Porphyry* probably followed *Herodotus*, as to the Age of *Semiramis*, and so certainly rejected the longer Calculations; he might quote these Astronomical Observations as being of such a Date, in order to confute them; since they were obviously repugnant to his own avowed Opinion. And he might be the more inclined to this Side of the Question, of the shorter Calculations; because the *Christian* Writers had commonly embraced the long ones from *Ctesias*; such as *Tatian Syrus*, his Countryman; *Clemens Alexandrinus*, &c. It appeareth probable that *Porphyry* esteemed these longest Calculations of *Pagan* Writers themselves, to have been fabulous Antiquity; and then he would readily allow the *Jewish* Antiquities to go beyond any genuine ones of other Nations; and, from this high Pretence to Antiquity, would conclude them fabulous, as stretching beyond all Historic Time. The ingenious Author of the Connection of Sacred and Profane History observeth, || “That, “at first, the *Heathen* Writers pretended to Antiquities, beyond what the “Sacred Writers could be thought to aim at; but, when the Falsity of this “Pretence was abundantly detected, then *Porphyry* thought he could compass the End aimed at, by another Way. He endeavoured to shew that “the *Heathen* History did not reach near so far back as had been imagined; “but that the Times, which *Moses* treated of, were really so much prior to “the first Rise of the most ancient Kingdoms, that all possible Accounts “of them could at best be but Fiction and Fancy.” And, indeed, I am much inclined to think that there was some Foundation for suspecting the boasted Antiquities of *Paganism*; (which *Porphyry* seems to have called in Question) even from some *Heathen* Authors then in being, tho’ now perhaps lost. And

Eusebius

* *Censorin. De Die Natal.* † *Syncel. p. 207. Marsh. Can. Chronic. p. 505.* ‡ *Euseb. Præem. in Chron. Græc. p. 6.* || *Shuckf. Connect. Vol. II. p. 39.*

Eusebius seems to fall into the Scheme of magnifying their Memoirs, and amplifying their History, in Complaisance to, or Fear of this Objection of *Porphyry*; when he must have had more Materials for the Detection of their forged Antiquity, than are at present to be found.—A *Newton's* Penetration and Courage would soon have cleared all up entirely; who minded not what Authors said one after another, in a sequacious Copying their Leaders; but also considered what *could* most *probably* be true in the Nature of Things, and taking all Probabilities together.

4. But the great and indeed *only* Difficulty in these Observations of *Babylon*, is, that they were of 1903 Years standing, since this Computation is supposed to correspond with the *Hebrew* Scriptures, to near the Time of the *Babel* Confusion. But I apprehend even this Difficulty is not insuperable; allowing some Conjectures, which are not repugnant to History or Reason.

(1.) *Callisthenes* would naturally apply himself to the most learned Men in *Babylon*, as soon as the City was quiet under *Alexander*; if he had received any such Instructions from *Aristotle*; and, as it was a Place famous for Astronomical Improvements, he would not, probably, content himself with one Set of Informers, he would endeavour to get Intelligence of any *ancient* Monuments that were there to be had. But, as *Berosus* might then be beginning his Enquiries,* and, as he declared he could meet with none older than the *Nabonassarean* Æra, it must be, probably, concluded that *Callisthenes* found NONE, any more than *Berosus*, which were of such high Antiquity; otherwise *Berosus*, a Contemporary, a Native, and with a similar Taste of Studies, would have been like to have got the same Intelligence.

(2.) Again; as I have noted on another Occasion before, the learned Men among the *Babylonians* might have obtained some Notions of genuine Antiquity from the *Jews*, after the Captivity. They were many of them great Men, and had several of them been in high Confidence and Preferments, in the successive Reigns from *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Cyrus*; as particularly *Daniel*. Their public Characters would lead them into Acquaintance, and occasion their being applied to, by Men of the greatest Curiosity and Distinction. What the learned *Chaldeans* procured in this Way, by Informations from the *Jews*, they might augment and improve, in the same Manner; since the *Jews* in great Numbers continued in the *Eastern* Parts, and had long afterwards a College in *Babylonia*. Now there is no Wonder, that the learned *Chaldeans* should, by such Advantages of Information from the Prince of the Wise-men, and a great Minister of State, as eminent for his Virtue and Integrity, as for his Rank and Knowledge; there is no Wonder, I say, that they should be more ready to attend to such Intelligence, and be better disposed to add to their own Stock of Knowledge, and to rectify their own Errors in the Sciences, by it. Hereby there might arise something like a Science of *Chronology* in the *East*; and some might be curious to enquire how

* Note, This corresponds with the Age of *Berosus*.

how long it was since *Babylon* was first founded, when they were otherwise so ignorant of the *Primordia* of their own City. This would be most like to engage their Attention; and some of them might suggest such a Computation to *Callisthenes*. And further; as their first Instructors were gone so many Centuries before, and this might at that Time be grown a Part of common Knowledge among the Learned; there seems to be nothing subversive of the main Sentiments we have urged in this *Essay*, in admitting even this Calculation in the Time of *Callisthenes* at *Babylon*.—But here we may remark, that the Calculations, which were learned in *Babylon*, were according to the *Hebrew*, (and not agreeable to the *Septuagint*) as learned from *Daniel* and his Friends.

C H A P. XIII.

On the Chaldaean Antiquities of Berofus.

THIS Celebrated *Chaldaean* Antiquary, *Berofus*, so far as he has any Thing of Truth and Probability in his Accounts of the most ancient Times, may be supposed also to be indebted to the *Jewish* Original for his Intelligence. We have but little of him, except some broken Fragments; which I have considered already as to his *Cosmogony*. He, as well as his Contemporary *Manetho* in *Egypt*, were both initiated into this Kind of Knowledge by *Hebrew* Assistance; tho' one seems to have had all his Helps from the *Septuagint* Version, the other from the Disciples of *Daniel*. However, as the *Jews* in *Egypt* needed a Translation of the *Hebrew* Scriptures into *Greek*; so, by Parity of Reason, those in *Babylon* might need a Version into *Chaldee*, and a *Chaldee* Version might fall into *Berofus's* Way, as a *Greek* one into *Manetho's*. And, out of such Informations, they, each of them, fabled what they pleased, which they would take to be for the Honour of their Country's Antiquities. Besides; as there might be supposed in the elder Times, many learned Men among the *Pagans*, who were *inquisitive*, and many of the *Jews* communicative; so the *Chaldaeans*, as I have said, might get a great Knowledge of their Chronology, and most primitive History this Way. And they might easily make Use of it, under such Disguises and Mixtures of *Pagan* Sentiments, as would hide the original Informations.—Our Author, accordingly, in drawing up his *Chaldaean* History, begins with the Account of the Generation of all Things; and then subjoins the History of Ten successive Generations of Monarchs, from *Alorus* to *Xixuthrus*, which is, most probably, a Copy of *Moses's* History from *Adam* to *Noah*, in the same Number of Successions. He also takes Notice of the extreme Longevity of those Princes, reigning each of them many *Sares*, and a *Sares* was by *Syn-cellus* reckoned to contain 3600 Years. *Alorus* is said to have reigned ten *Sares*,

Sares, which is $3600 \times 10 = 36000$ Years. We see how they trod in the Footsteps of *Moses*, so that they durst not alter the very Method of their History; however they so enormously magnified each Article of Imitation. He next observes the Flood, which he relates with many parallel Circumstances, as *Moses* had reported it. *Xixuthrus* was warned of its Approach by *Saturn*. He enjoined him to write down Memoirs relating to the Beginning, History and End of all Things; and to conceal the Writing under Ground, in *Heliopolis* near *Sippora*; then he was to build a Ship, with their wonted Amplifications, two Furlongs in Breadth, and five in Length, to lay up necessary Provisions, and go into it with his Family, Relations and Friends, and all Kinds of Land Animals, and shut himself up. Some Time after, when the Waters were abated, he sent out several Fowls, which finding no Food, nor Resting Place, returned to him again. A few Days after he sent out others, who returned with Bits of Mud in their Claws. The third Time he let them go, they returned no more. From this he concluded that the Earth was sufficiently drained; and made a Window in the Vessel, and finding it had rested on a Mountain, he came forth with his Wife, his Daughter, and the Pilot. And having paid Adoration to the Earth, raised an Altar and sacrificed to the Gods, he and they that were with him disappeared. They who stayed in the Ship, finding they did not return, went out in Search of them, but in vain; only they heard this Voice: *Xixuthrus* for his Piety is translated to Heaven, and ranked amongst the Gods, with those that were with him. The Voice further exhorted them to be religious, and repair to *Babylon* to dig up the Memoirs there deposited.—These are the principal Pagan Monuments of Antiquity, which I have thus stated and compared with *Moses*. From all which it will appear, that we have no regular History of the most ancient Times, but what must be esteemed absolute Fiction; or may be accounted for, as derived from *Moses*. And that, considering the Age when *Letters* were revealed to him, and the Time of their being received by other Nations from the *Hebrews*, who were in first Possession of this Art of *Alphabetical Writing*, all may be admitted without any Strain of Argument, or making any unnatural or improbable Suppositions, or any precarious Hypotheses.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the real Antiquity of Gentile History among the Greeks.

I HAVE, in the former Part of this Work, endeavoured to make out the Probability that there *could* be no Records before the Days of *Moses*, in any Country in the World. And I think I have *proved* that there *were* none in *Assyria*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, or *Chaldea*, which any of their ancient

Authors consulted before the Times of *David* and *Solomon*.—I now proceed to shew that there were *no* Antiquities of *Greece*, any more than other *Pagan* Nations, before those Times. If the former Allegations are not disallowed, this concerning the Antiquities of *Greece* will be easily admitted. Since not only their own *Herodotus*, but many other Writers among *Jews* and *Christians*, as *Josephus* and the most learned of the *Christian Fathers* avow the Recency of the *Greeks*, and that they derived all their Arts and Sciences from the *Barbarians*.*—But, as I think, however contrary to the common Opinion, that the *Greeks* were among the first *Heathen* Nations in the Knowledge of *Writing*; since, by the Confession of all Antiquity, as *Herodotus*, and *Josephus* himself, *Cadmus* brought them into *Greece*.† So their regular History, which was properly *Greek* Antiquity, beginneth as soon as that of any *Pagan* Nation. Besides; it is not obscured, or embarrassed, with high fabulous Antiquities, like the *Assyrians* and *Egyptians*. They were not a People long before the Arrival of *Cadmus*. Wherefore, they readily owned an *hidden* unknown Time, and a *Mythic* one, as well as the *Historic* one.

We have, in the preceding Part, synchronized all the Events, in which any other Nation is concerned, with the *Hebrews*, from the Books of the Old Testament; and have shewn that the World might have had such a Degree of Knowledge as we have described: That it *could* be clear to the Time of the General Dispersion: That it *would* gradually become more obscure, as *Tradition* removed to a greater Distance from the Spring Head, *i. e.* *Noah's* Instructions: That at last, it would be sunk almost to an evanescent State, about the Time when *Writing* was discovered: That, when ancient Knowledge was reduced to that State, the Benevolence of the Deity was magnified, in imparting *Letters* to the World, by the Hand of *Moses*; which, in due Season, came to the more general Knowledge of Mankind, about the Age of *Solomon*. But I do not pretend to derive this Account from any ancient *Pagan* Writer; as if any one had described those Changes in their Knowledge from Age to Age: But I *infer* them, from what would seem to be unavoidable in the Nature of Things, if they had such Informations from *Adam* and *Noah*, and had no better Method of recording them than verbal Tradition, till the Days of *Moses*.—But, in this *Second Part*, I shall attempt to carry on my Calculations of Time *upwards*, from any given Time, suppose from *the Birth of Christ*, in any Synchronisms required in preceding Time. And I hope to shew that all the *Pagan* History will so nearly accommodate and correspond with the Times of *David* or *Solomon*, that there will appear no Probability of any ancient Story of *Paganism*, going much *higher* than that Age; and hereby this latter Part will greatly confirm many of the Argumentations in the former Part.

I freely own the Great Sir *Isaac Newton*, in his immortal Work of Chronology, has laid the Foundation of my Scheme. I have, as a meaner Writer must

* *Tatian. contra Græc. ad Initium.*

† *Herodot. Lib. V. c. 58.*

must do, only considered the *Minutiae*, which he with gigantic Steps strode over disregarded; as he did many concealed Demonstrations in his *Principia*. But yet I think, in the Times before Sir *Isaac* dates his Work, I have been so happy as to hit on several Things, which may clear the Way, and be an easier Introduction to his Scheme; which will make the whole Series of the Line of Time natural and regular from the Beginning; as he had made it from about *Eli's* Time.

S E C T. I.

On the celebrated Synchronism of Leonidas and Xerxes.

THERE is one grand Period, from which I shall attempt to settle the Connection betwixt *Sacred* and *Profane* History; and from which we may easily calculate the Continuation of the Line of Time, from the latter Ages, which are unquestionably *Historic*, upwards thro' the remoter Ages of *Paganism*, which were more perplexed and obscure; by clear and distinct Synchronisms with the *Hebrew* Records, which reach up to the Creation. These Records bring the Line of Time regularly down from *Adam* to *Noah*, in whose Days the General Deluge happened, *Gen. v.* from the Deluge to *Abraham's* going into *Canaan*, *Gen. xi.* compared with *Gen. xii. 4.* from thence to the *Exodus* or Egression out of *Egypt*, *Gen. xv. 13.* compared with *Exod. xii. 40.* from the *Exodus* to the Building of the Temple, *1 Kings vi. 1.* and from thence to the Destruction of the Temple and the Grand Captivity; and from thence to the End of the Captivity and the Reign of *Cyrus* over *Babylon*, as appears distinctly in the History of the *Jewish* Monarchy from its Rise to its Fall, in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*.

The Point I fix upon, in the *Heathen* History, for the determining of its Connection with *Sacred* History, is the Ever-memorable War of *LEONIDAS*, the *Spartan* Hero, with *Xerxes* the *Persian* Monarch, at *Thermopylae*; where he gloriously fell, a Sacrifice to his Country's Safety. *Xerxes*, the Invader of *Greece*, was the third in Succession from that *Cyrus*, who delivered the *Jews* from the 70 Years Captivity. This Action at *Thermopylae* was a very memorable Period in *Greek* History; and no doubt was related by them in all its Circumstances; among which, his Descent would not be thought inconsiderable; since the Oracle marked out particularly a Descendant of *Hercules* for this glorious, fatal Action.* This Hero, the great *Leonidas*, has been celebrated by the *Greek* Historians, as the greatest among other great Men, for many Ages. But at last, he has had the Happiness of his Poet, as *Pelican Achilles* had before him; to restore his Name to more familiar Memory, and illustrate it with the Graces of Verse. Hereby he is not only rendered still

* *Herodot. Lib. VII. cap. 220.*

more familiarly the Admiration and Pattern of great Patriot Generals and Statesmen, in more public Life; but also the tender Matron's and Virgin's Applause. No doubt many of the softer Sex in *Britain*, since Mr. *Pope* translated *Homer*, and Mr. *Glover* wrote his *Leonidas*, have been often smote with all the decent Tenderness of generous and virtuous Passions, in perusing two of the most moving Scenes that ever adorned Poetry; *Hector* taking Leave of *Andromache* in *Homer*, and our self-devoted *Hero's* Farewel to his Queen and Children in *Leonidas*. This is a Poem properly *Heroic*, as it celebrates the noblest of all Passions; a disinterested, public Spirit and Love of Country; a Subject far nobler than the Anger of the formidable *Achilles*, the Regal Pride of *Agamemnon*, the faithless Beauty of *Helena*, or the strolling Ambition or Avarice of *Aeneas*. This Poem is worthy to have its Birth-place in *Great Britain*, the Land of Liberty, and where kindred Virtues should be supposed to reign and prevail.

From this memorable Period (as I have said) I propose to settle this Connection between Sacred and Profane Chronology. And, tho' I am sensible it is a much later one, than our Chronologers have commonly fixed for their Synchronisms, yet I apprehend it much the most clear, unexceptionable and complete. And, if we must, in ascending upwards in the Line of Time, be forced to stop short of what Men of great Learning have commonly thought they could go, in *Pagan* Antiquity; I can only say, that it is to *Pagan* Testimonies I appeal, and to the common Course of Nature, for the *Explication* of those Testimonies. If they had no more Names in Succession to give us, we may, with the Great *Newton*, conclude that those Successions, in a natural Course, would but last about such a Time; whoever it was, who foisted in *unnatural* Numbers; either from Ignorance, or the old Disease of affecting high Antiquity, out of National Vanity.

S E C T. III.

On the Genealogy from Lelex to Hercules.

WE may easily calculate the Distance from *Xerxes* to *Cyrus*, who ended the 70 Years Captivity of the *Jews*, both from *Ptolemy's* Canon, and other Testimonies of the best *Greek* Writers. And we can as easily calculate the Distance from *Xerxes* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was about contemporary with *Jechoniah* the Grandson of *Josiah*, backward to *David*, from the *Jewish* sacred Books. And, as *Leonidas* was contemporary with *Xerxes*, we can as easily compute, by Generations in the *Spartan* Line, parallel to Generations in the *Jewish* Line, not only how distant *Leonidas* was from *Lelex*, but what Age in the *Jewish* Succession was parallel, or contemporary with the Age of *Lelex* in the *Greek* Succession. In the same Manner, we may

may determine the Age of the Kingdom of *Egypt*, by considering the Synchronisms in that Succession, according to the List of their most ancient Writer, *Herodotus*, rectified by the masterly Sagacity of Sir *Isaac Newton*, without the Fables of *Manetho*, or the later Tales which *Diodorus Siculus* received from the *Egyptian* Priests of his Age. I shall also, however laborious it may be, synchronize the other Successions of the principal Families of *Greece*, with that of *Sparta*, that our Computation may appear the more unexceptionable. But I must here note, that for shortening the Tables, I make use of a few Marks, such as these:

Married to, +, as *Lacedæmon* + *Sparta*.

Contemporary, = as *Acrifus* = *Prætus* = *Amyclas*.

This Note expresses Brothers and Sisters of the same Family; or those who were contemporary, tho' of different Families.

The Genealogies of the *Spartans* and *Argives* from *Lelex*.

ISRAEL.

Eli - - - -	Lelex - - - - -	Atlas.
Samuel - -	Eurotas - - - - -	Taygete.
Saul - - -	Sparta + - - - - -	Lacedæmon.
David - - -	Eurydice + Acrifus - - -	Amyclas.
Solomon - -	Danae - - - - -	Cynortas.
Rehoboam -	Perseus - - - - -	+ Æbalus = Perieres.
Abijah - - -	Sthenelus = Alcæus = Gelanox = Gorgopbone + Tyndareus.	
Afa - - - -	Amphytrion - - - - -	Castor = Pollux.
Josaphat - - - -	Hercules.	

All these Descents on both Sides are set down distinctly to *Cynortas*, by the eldest Chronologer of *Greece*. [*Apollodorus Athen. Lib. III. cap. 10. Sect. 3.*] But in *Pausanias*, *Argalus* is inserted after *Amyclas*. [*Pausan. Laconic. cap. 1.*] Tho' he seems to be taken for the eldest Son of *Amyclas*, and Brother of his Successor *Cynortas*. So that it doth not lengthen the Succession one Generation, tho' it augments the Number of their Kings.

On this Genealogy I must make these Observations.

1. That *Eurotas* was the Son of *Lelex*, and Father of *Sparta*. Not *Myles*, as *Pausanias* says, [*Laconic. cap. 1.*] who is more generally followed; for no seeming Reason but amplifying.

2. That

2. That *Eurydice*, the Wife of *Acrisius*, was Sister to *Amyclas* by both Parents, *Lacedæmon* and *Sparta*.

3. *Acrisius* and *Prætus* were Twin-Brothers. And their several Lines very well agree with that of *Amyclas*, in parallel Generations, down to *Troy*; as appeareth by the Tables following.

<u><i>Acrisius's Line.</i></u>	<u><i>Prætus's Line.</i></u>	<u><i>Amyclas's Line.</i></u>
<i>Acrisius</i> — —	<i>Prætus</i> — —	<i>Amyclas.</i>
<i>Danae</i> — —	<i>Megapenthes</i> — —	<i>Argalus.</i>
<i>Perseus</i> — —	<i>Anaxagoras</i> — —	<i>Cynortas.</i>
<i>Alcæus</i> — —	<i>Electer</i> — —	<i>Æbalus.</i>
<i>Amphytrion</i> — —	<i>Iphis</i> — —	<i>Tyndareus.</i>
<i>Hercules</i> — —	<i>Evadne + Capaneus.</i>	<i>Castor = Pollux.</i>
<i>Tlepolemus</i> — —	<i>Sthenelus</i> — —	<i>Hellena.</i>

All these last plainly appear to have been in the Age of *Troy*; and, according to *Homer*, they were all there,

4. But the great Difficulty in this Capital Part of the *Greek* Genealogy, in the Descent of the *Herculean* Family, occurs in these two irreconcilable Lines of Succession, that of *Eurydice* and her Husband *Acrisius*, down to *Hercules*. This will appear very obviously, by only casting our Eye on the following Genealogies: Namely,

The Line of EURYDICE compared with the Line of ACRISIUS.

	<i>Lelex</i> — — —	<i>Inachus.</i>
	<i>Eurotas</i> — —	<i>Phoroneus.</i>
* <i>Apollodorus</i> knew the Story of two <i>Io's</i> : For he names <i>Herodotus's</i> Account of her as the Daughter of <i>Inachus</i> .	<i>Sparta</i> — —	* <i>Io</i> I. — —
	<i>Eurydice</i> — —	<i>Apis</i> — —
	<i>Danae</i> — —	<i>Lybia</i> — —
	<i>Perseus</i> — —	<i>Belus</i> — —
		<i>Argus.</i>
		<i>Jasus = Pyranthus.</i>
		<i>Agenor.</i>

The

The Line of EURYDICE compared with the Line of ACRISIUS.

Alcæus	—	Danaus	—	Argus. 2.
Amphytrion	—	—	—	Jasus. 2.
Hercules	—	—	—	Io. 2.
				Apis.
				Lybia.
				Belus.
				Danaus.
				Hypermnestra + Lynceus.
				Abas went to Phocis. Pausan.
				Eurydice + Acrisius = Prætus.
				Danae.
				Perseus.
				Alcæus.
				Amphytrion.
				Hercules.

Now these Accounts cannot *both* of them be true. For how should *Eurydice* be contemporary with her Husband's Twin-Brother, *Prætus*; and with her own Brother *Amyclas*; as appears by the parallel Generations of each of them down to the *Trojan War*? and her Husband *Acrisius* be *Six* Generations, or *Ten* Generations younger than she? Either *Acrisius*, or his Queen *Eurydice*, must be misplaced many Generations; she too *high*, or he too *low*.—And, that he was placed too *low* will be demonstrably evident from several Synchronisms in this Story, even in *Apollodorus* himself.* For he tells us, that *Æbalus*, or *Perieres*, the Sons of *Cynortas*, of the *Spartan Line*, married *Gorgophone* the Daughter of *Perseus* the *Argive*, i.e. he had a Daughter married about ten Generations before himself was born, according to the *enlarged*; which has been, almost constantly, the *received Scheme*, in *Acrisius's* Line.

Again; *Hercules* is universally allowed to be an *Argonaut*, and a Contemporary with *Castor* and *Pollux*, the Sons of *Tyndareus*, who were also in that Expedition.

* *Apollodor. Athen. Bibliothec. Lib. III. cap. 10. Sect. 3.*

Expedition. And these two Brothers were expected by *Helena* to have been at *Troy*, among the other *Greek Princes* in the last Year of that War. Now all these Synchronisms of *Æbalas* + *Gorgophone*; *Hercules* = *Castor* = *Argonauts* must be absolutely impossible, upon this Calculation of *Acrisius's* Descent, whether from the first, or the second *Io*. But all is clear and intelligible, supposing him to be contemporary with his own Wife, the Daughter of *Lacedæmon* + *Sparta*, and his own Brother *Prætus*, and her Brother *Amyclas*, for then all the Synchronisms betwixt the several Families easily coincide.

5. It may be further observed, that *Abas* the Son of *Lynceus* and *Hypermetra*, the Daughter of *Danaus*, settled in *Phocis*, and was a Leader of a Colony of *Argives* thither, where he built *Abas*; as the *Phocians* positively assert.* I apprehend therefore, that, as *Abas* was the Father of *Acrisius* and *Prætus*, and as this *Abas* the Son of *Danaus* was gone from *Argos*, he could not be Father of this *Acrisius*: And again, as *Acrisius* and *Perseus* were Kings within the Territories of *Argos*, the ancient Chronologers made this Mistake, partly out of Ignorance, and partly from that absurd, but almost universal Taste, of amplifying their National Antiquities: And it was still the more likely in *Danaus's* House, who was himself an *Egyptian*, a Nation most notorious for this Affectation.

6. *Danaus* came from *Rhodes* to *Argos*. And as the *Rhodians* were originally a Colony of *Argives*, who came with *Phorbas* and *Telchines* from the *Peloponnesus*, so they would be like to know that *Inachus's* Male-Line was extinct in *Pyranthus*; and that *Perseus*, the most popular Hero of that Age, who had divided or usurped the Kingdom, was lately dead. This might induce them to encourage *Danaus* to make Pretensions, as he was a Descendant of *Inachus*, by his Daughter *Io*. And further, they might not like his Company at *Rhodes*. Now, if he descended from the first *Io*, his *Argive* Descent would be well known, being but a recent Thing; and so might encourage him to aspire after that Succession. But, if he was descended from the second *Io*, he would be twelve Generations from *Inachus*, and therefore would have little Pretensions from so remote a Consanguinity.

7. Again; *Perseus's* Son *Gelanor* was expelled by *Danaus*, that is, his Descendant in the sixth Generation was expelled by *Danaus* himself, which is another unanswerable Absurdity, contrary to the common Course of Nature.

8. *Archander* and *Archetiles* the Sons of *Achæus*, two young Princes of the *Athenian* Royal Family, came to *Argos*, and married two of the Daughters of *Danaus*, *Automates* and *Scæas*. And they appear to have grown considerable at *Argos*, because the People of that Territory were called after them, *Achæi* or *Achivi*, as they were called after *Danaus*, *Danai*; and probably, after *Danaus's* Death, they might reign; and not his own Son *Abas*. He was

* *Pausan. Phocic. cap. 35. p. 887. Edit. Khun.*

was gone away before they came to *Phœcis*; or perhaps he might retire with his Colony, after they married, and become popular at *Argos*. And, as they had been bred to Arms in the *Sicyonian War*; * it seems no Way improbable, that active young Princes of Military Dispositions should soon grow popular and powerful; being strengthened with the Alliance of the Royal Family; and succeed in an elective Kingdom.

I have been more punctually careful to determine the true Descent in the Line of *Hercules*, because there is so vast a Difference in the Age of *Acrisius* and *Eurydice*, the Joint-Parents of *Danae*. And, as I have fixed on the House of *Lelex*, thro' *Hercules* to *Leonidas* = *Xerxes*, as the clearest Connection of Sacred with Profane History, it was necessary to be as clear as possible in determining the Age of these controverted Persons, *Acrisius* and *Eurydice*, who are yet, in all Lists, reckoned to be the Joint-Ancestors of the celebrated *Herculean Race*. And I hope I have made it out, to abundant Satisfaction, that *Eurydice's* Line is the genuine Antiquity; and that *Acrisius* must descend from another *Abas*, not the Grandson of *Danaus*, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, but a much older Prince.

S E C T. III.

The Argive Line from Inachus.

INACHUS is generally thought to be among the eldest Planters of *Greece*, of which they have any Mention in *Pagan History*. And I shall next endeavour to extricate this Line from the Embarrassment thrown upon it, partly by coined Numbers of Years, as to the Reigns of their Kings; partly by mistaking the Successors Relations to their Predecessors, whether they were their Sons or Brothers, or other Relations; and partly by amplifying all their Antiquity out of Vanity.

I shall lay down three Lists of the *Argive Princes*.

1. That of *Castor*, whom *Eusebius* follows. 2. *Apollodorus*. And,
3. *Pausanias*.

1. *Castor's List of the Kings of Argos.*

† <i>Inachus</i> - - - -	50	<i>Phorbas</i> - - - -	35
<i>Phoroneus</i> - - - -	60	<i>Triopas</i> - - - -	46
<i>Apis</i> - - - -	35	<i>Crotopus</i> - - - -	21
<i>Argus</i> - - - -	70	<i>Sthenelus</i> - - - -	11
<i>Crius</i> - - - -	54	<i>Danaus</i> - - - -	58

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1. Here

* *Pausan. Corinth. cap. 6. p. 125. Edit. Kuhn.*

† *Apollodorus* quotes *Castor*, p. 70. for much of the Story of *Inachus's* Line, particularly *Io* being turned into a Cow, which may mean that *Apis* set himself to the Pastoral Life, and she sought or enquired after him in many Parts, after he left the Court of *Egypt*. She is said to travel so much, as they had not then Letters in *Egypt*.

1. Here are many Doubts as to their *Years* of Reigning. That *Inachus* should reign 50, and his Son 60 = 110 Years, *Argus* 70, and his Son 54 = 124 Years; and that *Danaus* should reign 50 Years at *Argos*, when he was so old as to have 50 Daughters marriageable, when he came to *Rhodes*. These Circumstances are strong Grounds of Suspicion that these Numbers are greatly augmented above the Truth.

2. As we reckon by *Generations*, the Reigns of Kings, (if they succeeded by the Order of Primogeniture) could not be much longer in the *Longeval* than in *later* Ages; for, if *Inachus* had his eldest Son at 40 Years old, and himself lived to 100, then *Phoroneus* must be 60 Years old before he came to the Throne, and so must be 120 Years of Age at his Death, when he had reigned 60 Years. Ordinarily, If the Fathers had their First-born at 30 Years of their Age, and lived to 100, their Sons must be 70 before they begun to reign, and so would, in the ordinary Course of Nature, have a Reign of but 30 Years. And this cannot be, in the common Course, much different, in the Length of Reigns, from *later* Ages; where they have their First-born about 25, and live till 70. For then the Son, in the common Course of Nature, must be 45 when he begins to reign, and may expect to reign about 25 or 30 Years, according to that common Course.

The second Author is *Apollodorus*, whose List follows.*

Inachus.
 |
Aegialeus = *Phoroneus.*
 |
Apis = *Niobe.* — *Io.*
 |
Argus.
 |
Epidaurus = *Criafus* = *Pyranthus* = *Jafus.*

The third Author, *Pausanias*, gives the List of their
 † Kings thus: 1. *Inachus.* 2. *Phoroneus-Niobe.*

Agenor.
 |
Argus. II.
 |
Jafus. II.
 |
Io. II.
 |
Apis.
 |
 3. *Argus.*
 |
 5. *Phorbas* = 4. *Phyrasus.*
 |
 6. *Triopas.*
 |
Agenor = 7. *Jafus.*
 |
 8. *Crotopus.* — *Io.*
 |
 9. *Sthenelus.*

10. *Gelanor*—*Helas*—*Helanor*, or *Gelanor*, may I think in different
 11. *Danaus.* Spelling be the same Name.

Here

* *Apollod.* Lib. II. cap. 2.

† *Pausan.* *Corinthiac.* cap. 15, 16.

Here is obviously a great Confusion among the Ancients, as to the *Number*, *Order*, and *Descents* of the *Argive* Succession from *Inachus*. But, as but *one* of them can be *right*; and, as they are of near equal Authority, (except from their Seniority, some Difference may arise) the Account must be adjusted by probable Conjectures; by gathering other Pieces of History from other Authors, and comparing all together; to bring them (as near as we can) to a Consistency with the Successions and Genealogies of their neighbouring and contemporary States.

1. They all agree well enough to the Times of *Pyranthus*, *Criasus* and *Phyrasus*, the Sons of *Argus*; and then a Difference and Confusion beginneth.

2. *Pyranthus* had a Daughter, named *Callitbæa*, who was the first Priestess of *Juno Argiva*, and had no Posterity recorded; nor doth *Pyranthus*, *Criasus*, or *Phyrasus* appear to have had any Male Posterity.

3. *Phorbas*, the other Son of *Argus*, according to *Pausanias*, went with the *Telchines* to *Rhodes*, and as Sir *Isaac Newton* thinketh, settled there. And, probably, his Family settled there in Succession after him. They were not, therefore, on the Spot, at the Death of *Pyranthus*, to put in their Claim to the Crown of *Argus*. Again; *Pausanias* mentions a Division of the Kingdom, or Territories, of *Argos*, by *Acrisius* and *Prætus*; which must be about the Time of the Death of *Pyranthus*, according to the genuine Chronology of *EURYDICE'S* Line.

4. *Pyranthus*, *Criasus* and *Phyrasus* were all Sons of *Argus*; and they are all represented as dying without Sons. I think them, therefore, to be only different Names for the same Prince. He seems to have reigned long; and when he died, having no Male-Issue, this might create some Confusion about the Succession; the Male-Line of *Inachus* at *Argos* failing in him.

5. *Jasus*, who is said by *Apollodorus* to be his Brother, might be dead before him; *Agenor*, the Son of *Jasus*, might not aspire to the Crown, for he is in no List of the *Argive* Kings. But *Agenor's* Son, *Crotopus*, might lay in his Claim, and succeed as to some Part, and for some Time. For *Conon* says expressly, that *Crotopus* was required by the Oracle to abdicate the Kingdom, for the Murder of his Daughter, got with Child by *Apollo*.*

6. *Perseus* might be about the Age of *Agenor*, and his Grandfather, *Acrisius*, might be in the Course of Nature, something younger than *Pyranthus*. For he might have *Danae*, when he was 24; and she have *Perseus*, when she was 16, so that *Acrisius* might be 60, when *Perseus* was come to Man's Estate. And then, on *Pyranthus's* Death, the Experience of so potent a Man as *Acrisius*; or the Bravery of the young Hero, *Perseus*, might discourage *Agenor* from making any Push for the Succession against such powerful Competitors. But *Crotopus*, a Prince of higher Spirit, in vigorous Age, might contest it with them; and *Acrisius*, as not of the Blood, might divide the

* *Conon. Narrat.* 19.

State with him, till *Crotopus* abdicated by the Command of the Oracle; and then he and his Brother *Prætus* might divide it between them, as *Pausanias* hints them to have done. And then, when *Acrisius* was unfortunately killed by *Perseus*, and *Perseus* could not shew his Face at *Argos*, after that melancholly Accident; he changed Kingdoms with *Megapenthes*, Son of *Prætus*; and himself founded *Mycenæ* for his own Capital.*

Thus the Descent is very clear to the failing of the Male-Line of *Inachus* in *Pyranthus*; and the Succession of *Acrisius* and *Prætus* is not unnaturally accounted for; which makes the Course of the Succession clear down to *Danaus* from *Perseus*. Here is no Room for many Kings, named by *Castor* and *Pausanias*, such as *Jasus*, *Pborbas*, *Triopas*.

7. This will be very consistent with *Apollodorus's* Relation of the introducing of *Melampus* and *Bias* into a Part of the *Argive* Kingdom, belonging to *Prætus's* Line. Which was procured by *Melampus*, as a Reward for Curing the *Argive* Women of a Pestilential Madness. †

8. The Succession will be intelligible from *Perseus* and his Line, to the Election of *Danaus*, and the Expulsion of *Helas* Son of *Perseus* or *Gelanor*. ‡ For *Perseus* had *Sthenelus* his eldest Son; *Alcæus*, who married into *Thebes* and resided there, and *Helas*, who (I think) was also called *Helanor*, which might be easily changed into *Gelanor*, the Rival of *Danaus*. But, whether this *Gelanor*, whom *Danaus* overcame in the Election, thro' the Superstition of the People, || was this Son of *Perseus* or not, yet he must have been contemporary with the Sons of *Perseus*. And, that *Perseus* was older than *Danaus*, will appear from this, that he fought with *Bacchus* = *Danaus*, when *Bacchus* was returning from his great *Eastern* Expedition; and, about the Time that he took *Ariadne* from *Theseus*. Now *Danaus*, who was younger Brother of *Bacchus*, did not fly from *Egypt*, till about, or just before the Return of his Conquering Brother *Bacchus*, whom in his Absence he had endeavoured to supplant, and whom he had exasperated in the highest Manner, by murdering his Sons, to whom he had married his Daughters. Again; *Perseus* fought with *Bacchus* about that Time when *Ariadne* was taken from *Theseus*. Now the Length of this Time may be thus computed; *Hercules*, the Great Grandson of *Perseus*, was an *Argonaut*; the Sons of *Bacchus* by *Ariadne* were *Argonauts*; and the Grandsons of *Danaus*, *Nauplius*, &c. were *Argonauts*. So that, by all these Calculations, it will appear, that *Danaus* must have been not quite so old as *Perseus*; and must therefore have come to *Argos* about the Age when *Perseus's* Sons flourished. This clears the *Argive* Succession

* *Pausan. Corinth. cap. 16. Apollod. Lib. II. c. 4. Sect. 4.*

† *Apollod. Lib. II. cap. 2. Sect. 2.*

‡ *Apollod. Lib. II. c. 4. Sect. 5.*

|| This Superstition appeared by this Circumstance; a Wolf came out upon an Herd of Cattle which were feeding in the neighbouring Meadows, and attacked and slew a Bull which was the Master of the Herd; this was on the Day of Election; and the People interpreted this Event to signify "that the Foreigner, whom they thought to be represented by the Wolf, should overcome the native Competitor, represented by the Bull, which was a domestic Animal."

Succession from otherwise inextricable Difficulties ; and makes the *Greek* Chronology a consistent Thing ; which is otherwise full of Anachronism and Repugnancy. Had *Apollodorus* proceeded with the *Argive* Succession of Kings, it might have been clearer ; but he goes on with the Line of *Io* to *Hercules*, and leaves a Gap as to the Kings of *Argos* ; unless they are continued from *Pyranthus*, thro' *Acrisius* and *Prætus*, immediately. But these two Princes were of another House, not related to *Inachus*. And it is probable that *Apollodorus* continued the Line of *Inachus* to *Hercules* ; because he knew that the Male-Line was extinct in *Pyranthus*.

S E C T. IV.

On the Kings of Sicyon.

ÆGIALEUS is said by *Apollodorus*, the most ancient Writer, who mentions him, to have been Brother of *Phoroneus*, and both Sons of *INACHUS*. This History seems, therefore, most naturally to fall next under our Consideration.

1. *Ægialeus*, the Son of *Inachus*, was the first King of this little Territory, after whom it was named *Ægialeum*. But he died childless,* as *Apollodorus* says. But *Pausanias* says he had a Son *Europs*, who had another Son *Telchin*, from whom sprang *Apis*, the Ancestors of a Line of incredible Length.†

2. *Europs* was chosen his Successor, who, as *Pausanias* tells us, was his Son. But the same *Pausanias* says, that *Phoroneus* had a Son named *Europs*.‡ It seems probable that *EUROPS* did not relish the preferring of his Bastard *Argus*, before himself ; but being forced to yield to the imaginary *Jupiter's* Progeny, the first-born Son of that Celestial Adulterer, (for *Niobe* was the first Mortal whom *Jupiter* debauched.) *Europs*, upon his Uncle's Death, as being the nearest Relation, made Pretensions to that Inheritance. And in this he succeeded, tho' disappointed at *Argos*.

3. *Telchin*, whose Descent is unknown, opposed *Europs*, and succeeded him, or rather expelled him. But it cannot be supposed but that both the Competitors and Rivals for Power, must each of them have had Partisans in the Infant-State, which would make Room for new Pretenders ; and it is probable, as we hear of him no more, that *Europs* fell in the Struggle.

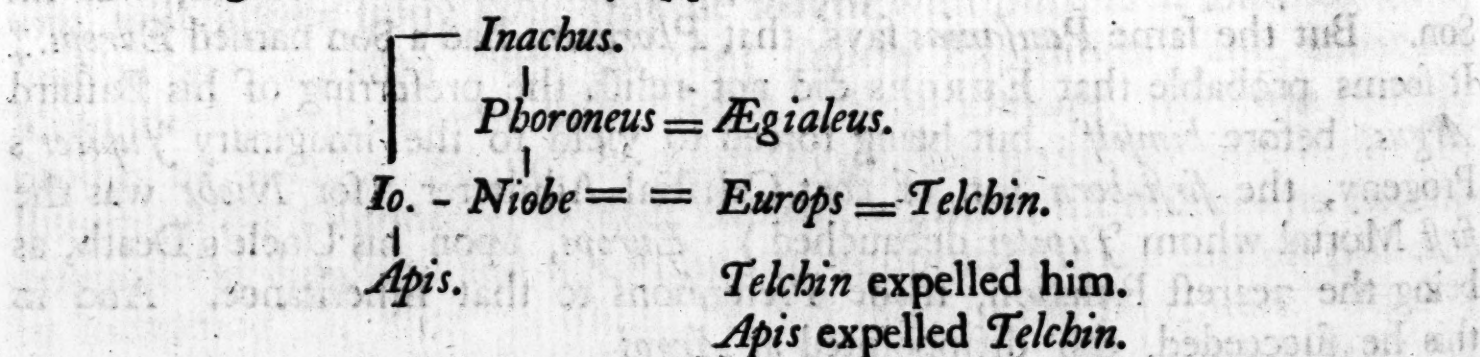
4. *Apis*, Son of *Io*, and Grandson of *INACHUS*, who, though of the *Argive* Royal Family by his Mother, yet was not Heir to the *Egyptian* Throne ; and perhaps not in high Esteem in *Egypt*, considering how his Mother was brought to *Egypt*, might pass over to *Argos*, in *Phoroneus's* Reign, and live peaceably there, and grow rich in Cattle. But, upon *Phoroneus's* Death, he might rather incline to *Europs* than *Argus* the Bastard. And, tho' *Europs* did not succeed, yet it might be well enough known what Party

* *Apollod.* Lib. II. c. 1. p. 67. † *Pausan.* p. 123. Edit. Kuhn. ‡ *Pausan.* p. 191.

Party he most adhered to. Hereby the Sons of *Argus* might entertain some Disgusts against him, which might make him uneasy there. This would naturally put a Man of the Royal Blood of *Argos*, and who was still greater on the Father's Side, by his Kindred to the Royal Family of *Egypt*, upon ambitious Projects. *Europs*, his Friend, being either dead, or expelled by *Telchines*, *Apis* determined to make Head against him, and succeeded so far as to oblige the *Telchines* to fly to *Rhodes*.

5. But, as I observed, there might not be a Friendship betwixt *Apis* and the Family of *Argus*; and therefore *Phorbas*, a fiery young Prince, might join the Fortunes of the *Telchines*; and, as they were defeated, might take his Fate with them in their Flight to *Rhodes*. Thus *Phorbas*, as I have said, would be out of the Way, to put in his Claim at *Argos*, upon *Pyranthus's* Death. He would scarce come back to make Interest there, where he was become a Stranger by long Absence; nor would his Son *Triopas*, born perhaps at *Rhodes*, be like to contend with *Acrisius* a potent Neighbour, who had long resided in the Country, and might be grown great by his own Wealth, and his Alliance with the House of *Sparta*.

6. This *APIS* (or *Epaphus*, or *Epopeus*, being but different Names for the same Prince) was no other than the Son of *Io*. And this would be a very natural Pretension for him, who was Nephew to *Ægialeus*, to aim at, and to obtain his Uncle's Territories, tho' they had been usurped by a Stranger. And this *Apis* would be of a proper Age for this Pretension to *Sicyonia*. For, if *Io* was among the youngest Children of *Inachus*, then she would be about the Age of *Niobe*; as may appear thus:



By all this it is plain that this *Apis* in the *Sicyonian* List, was the Son of *Io* in the *Argive* List. And as *Herodotus* * tells us, that *Io* was seduced aboard a Ship to look at their Wares, and was by this Stratagem stole away by some Merchants, and carried into *Egypt*: This might be in *Phoroneus's* Reign, rather than in that of *Inachus's*, when Commerce might be further advanced in *Argos*. But yet, it must have been while she was young and beautiful, and so be more likely to be taken in as a Mistress, or one of the Wives of the *Egyptian* Monarch. Hence will arise some Consistency in the old Stories of *Egypt* and *Greece*, concerning *Apis* and his high Descent.

7. *Apis*, or *Epaphus*, when he was settled in Peace on his Ancestor's Throne; and, by other Acquisitions, was grown great; became licentious and wanton in

* *Herod. Clio. cap. 1.*

in that high Power. He stole away and debauched *Antiope*, a Person of Distinction in *Thebes*. This publick Injury brought upon him a War with *Nycteus*, Regent of *Thebes*, the Father of the young Princess. And this was the first War in the Kingdom, as *Pausanias* says.* But the King is called *Epopeus*, who stole *Antiope*, and tho' he afterwards conquered *Nycteus* in Battle, yet he died not long after of his Wounds.†

8. After the Death of *Epopeus*, or *APIS*, *Lamedon* succeeded him. But had, soon after, a War with *Archander* and *Archetiles* the *Achæans*; and he invited *Sicyon* from *Attica*, as an Auxiliary in it, and gave him *Xeuxippe* his Daughter to Wife; which Alliance he promised him on the Invitation to the War.

9. Tho' there appears much Confusion in the *Sicyonian* Affairs, as to the Descents; yet *Pausanias* mentions some dishonourable Conduct in that *Epopeus*, who was the Son of *Aloeus* the Son of *Helius*, or the Sun at *Corinth*, which drove his Son *Marathon* into the Maritime Coast of *Attica* with a Colony.‡ But, upon hearing of his Father *Epopeus*'s Death, he returned to the *Peloponnesus*; and having divided his Territories betwixt his Sons, he went back to *Attica*. Now *Marathon*, Son of *Epopeus* of *Corinth* was, I think, the same Person with *Maratho* the Son of *Epopeus* at *Sicyon*, who is there said to have a Son *Sicyon*. This Injury of *Epopeus* at *Corinth*, was the same Action with the Rape of *Antiope* at *Sicyon*, which disgusted his Son *Marathon*; the Son must have been therefore at Man's Estate, and *Epopeus* be pretty old; when *Marathon* went off in Disgust, at this new Favourite Mistress being introduced to Court.

S E C T. V.

On the Ancient Line of Attica.

IN order to clear this Synchronism, and shew that *Sicyon* could be of a right Age for this Succession to *Apis* the Son of *Io*, the Daughter of *INACHUS*, which will come near to the Original of all the Great Families of *Greece*; it will be necessary to consider the true Antiquity of the *Attick* Kingdom. A learned Author || observes, "That the Antiquities of the *Athenian* State have been more studiously kept and better preserved, and consequently less liable to Objection, than those of any other in *Greece*. The Splendor of the *Athenian* Name, the great Encouragement this City always gave to learned Men, and its Fondness for Glory and Renown, made its History more studied and known, and its Antiquities more carefully searched into, and more punctually recorded." Now the Descents or Successions in this Kingdom are set down thus:

Actæus

* *Pausan.* Lib. XI. c. 6. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Pausan.* Lib. II. c. 1. ab *Init.* || *Defence of Greek Chronol.* p. 89.

Actæus, a Native.

Cecrops + his Daughter, who died without Sons.

Cranaus, a potent *Attican*.

Amphyction + *Cranae* Daughter of *Cranaus*.

Erichthonius.

Pandion.

Erectheus.

^{1.} *Creusa* = ^{2.} *Cecrops* = ^{3.} *Pandion* = ^{4.} *Metion*, &c.

Cecrops came among the first Planters of Greece, of which they have any Knowledge in their own History. He came into *Attica*, where *Actæus* was a principal Man among the Natives, and married his Daughter. But dying without Male-Issue, he was succeeded by *Cranaus*, a potent and wealthy *Attican*.* He was expelled by *Amphyction*, Son of *Deucalion*, Brother of *Hellenus*, who had married his Daughter *Cranae*. And *Amphyction* was himself expelled by *Erichthonius*, who had no mortal Father; and whose Descent from *Vulcan* is very strangely told by *Apollodorus*.†

1. Upon this Succession, we may observe that *Cranaus* and *Amphyction*'s Reigns were both terminated by *Expulsions*. And, tho' we have not clear Accounts how long they severally reigned, yet it was not probably very long. The first was a Family Rebellion, of the Son against his Father-in-Law.‡ And it is very likely, since *Cranaus* was a Native, that the Inhabitants would resent the Behaviour of *Amphyction* a Stranger, against his Father-in-Law, their own Countryman. Conspiracies would soon be forming against him. And some say that *Erectheus*, an *Egyptian*, coming to Greece in a Time of Scarcity, ingratiated himself by bringing a considerable Importation of Corn.|| He might also be of the Line of the ancient *Cecrops*, which might more recommend him to the Colony settled in *Attica*. For his eldest Son was *Cecrops*.

2. The Successor to *Amphyction* is called by *Plato*, *ERECHTHEUS*, and not *Erichthonius*;§ and I shall now attempt to prove that there could be no such successive Reigns as *Erichthonius* and *Pandion*, betwixt *Amphyction* and *Erectheus*, if the other Parts of the History be admitted.** *Erectheus* had these

Children; ^{1.} *Creusa*—^{2.} *Cecrops*—^{3.} *Pandion*—^{4.} *Metion*, and others. *Creusa* was, I think, the eldest; because she had a Son *Ion*, who was old enough to be General of the Forces in the *Eleusinian* War, before *Erectheus* his Grandfather's Death.—Again; she married *Xuthus*, who was certainly near the eldest Ages in Greece. Thus is her Descent:

Inachus

* *Apollodor.* Lib. III. c. 13. Sect. 5. p. 225. Edit. Gale. † *Apollod.* ibid. ‡ *Pausan.* Attic. cap. 2. || *Prid. Notæ Historic. ad Marm.* 182. Epoch. 12. § *Newton.* Chron. p. 140. *Plato.* *Alcibiad.* Lib. I. ** *Apol.* Lib. III. c. 14.

Inachus	—	Ætæus	—	The Age of the Planters.
Phoroneus	—	Cecrops.		
Niobe	—	Deucalion = Cranaus.		
Argus	Helen	=	Amphyction.	}
Pyræus	Xuthus = Æolus	—	Erechtheus.	
			Creusa + Xuthus.	

In this short Course of Successions, there are two memorable Marriages, which synchronize the Houses of *Attica* and *Deucalion*; namely, *Amphyction* + *Cranae*, and *Xuthus* + *Creusa*. *Amphyction* was Uncle to *Xuthus*, and might be about the same Age with *Erechtheus*, who expelled him; and he gave *Creusa* in Marriage to *Xuthus*, who was Nephew of *Amphyction*.

3. If both these Marriages are true History, and they are in all the Historians,* then there could not possibly be these two Successions, *Erichthonius* and *Pandion*,† betwixt *Amphyction* and *Erechtheus*. For the first reigned 50, and the second reigned 40 Years; 90 Years therefore passed betwixt the Expulsion of the Uncle and the Marriage of the Nephew. And *Creusa* must certainly have been too young for that Alliance. He would have been about 90 Years old when he came to the *Attican* Court; and he came as a Refugee, rather than a Great Prince.‡ If she was then about 20, it was a very unnatural Thing to suppose she would accept of such Proposals from a fugitive Man of 90. And yet, again, he lived till after *Erechtheus's* Death; for his Sons, when they came to litigate the Succession, made *Xuthus* the Judge among them; and afterwards expelled him the Country of *Attica*, for adjudging the Kingdom to *Cecrops* the eldest.¶ And further; his own Son, *Ion*, by *Creusa*, was old enough to be General of the *Athenian* Forces before *Erechtheus's* Death. So that *Xuthus* must have been about 140 Years old, when the Sons of *Erechtheus* thought him sufficient to decide this great Controversy among them, as Competitors for the Crown.

The Absurdity of this Marriage, *Xuthus* + *Creusa*, when he was about 90, and she about 15 or 20; and the equally unnatural Age of *Xuthus*, when they thought him sufficient to be appealed to, in that great Controversy about the Succession, are no less than Demonstration, that there could not, in the Course of Nature, be two such long Reigns betwixt *Amphyction* and *Erechtheus*. It is very plain, that he could not be *old* when he came to the Crown; because *Ion*, his Grandson by that Marriage, which was celebrated after his Accession, was old enough to be General in that Action where

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Erechtheus

* *Apoll. Lib. III. c. 14. Pausan. Lib. VII. c. 1. † Newt. Chron. p. 140. ‡ Pausan. Lib. VII. c. 1. || Pausan. ibid.*

Erechtheus fell.* And again, he himself was not too *old* to go to War, any more than his Grandson too *young* for Command.

We have here a noted Part of the *Athenian* Story ; and which is also in clear Synchronism with the great House of *Deucalion* ; and in which all their Authors agree, except *Plato* in *Alcibiade*, who calls the Successor of *Amphyction*, *ERECHTHEUS*: Yet we must venture to deny all their united Testimonies, relating to this Part of their History ; tho' we are supported by no Authority, but common Sense ; and we must rectify their Chronology and History by THAT, from several Particulars which they likewise *all* agree in. They all agree, that *Amphyction* was King of *Athens*, after *Cranaus* ; that two Reigns intervened betwixt him and *Erechtheus* ; and all, who mention the Length of those two Reigns, say, that it was $50 + 40 \text{ Years} = 90$; that *Xuthus* was *Hellen's* Son, the Brother of *Amphyction* ; and that he married *Creusa* the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, the fourth in Succession inclusively. Now these Particulars cannot all be *true* ; but yet all, that is necessary to suppose, is, that one Name is miscalled, namely, *Erichthoneus* for *Erechtheus*, and two Reigns fabled by *Athenian* Vanity, to augment their Antiquity. And then the whole Succession will pretty well synchronize with the other Great Families of *Greece*, down to the *Trojan* War. Thus :

Argos.		Sparta.	Attica.
<i>Inachus.</i> —		<i>Lelex.</i>	<i>Actæus.</i>
<i>Phoroneus.</i> —		<i>Eurotas.</i>	<i>Cecrops.</i>
<i>Niobe.</i> — <i>Io.</i> —		<i>Sparta.</i>	<i>Cranaus.</i> - - - - <i>Deucalion.</i>
<i>Argus.</i> — <i>Apis.</i> - -		<i>Eurydice.</i>	<i>Amphyction</i> = = <i>Hellen.</i>
<i>Pyranthus.</i> <i>Lybia.</i> -		<i>Danae.</i>	<i>Erechtheus.</i> - - - <i>Xuthus.</i>
<i>Perseus.</i> — <i>Belus.</i> -		<i>Perseus.</i>	<i>Metion.</i> - - - - <i>Achæus.</i>
<i>Alcæus.</i> — <i>Danaus.</i>		<i>Sthenelus.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i> - - - - <i>Archander.</i>
<i>Amphytrion.</i>			
<i>Hercules.</i>			

I shall now proceed to consider the Suitableness of *Sicyon's* Age for this Synchronism of Actions ; his being invited by *Lamedon* of *Sicyonia* the Successor of *Apis*, or *Epopeus* Son of *Io*.

1. We may suppose that *Erechtheus* soon expelled *Amphyction*, and might not be many Years younger. He had several Children, of which I take *Creusa* to be *eldest* ; because her Son *Ion* was old enough to be General in the last War of his Grandfather's Reign. *Erechtheus's* Posterity was thus :

^{1.} <i>Creusa</i> = <i>Cecrops</i> —	^{2.} <i>Pandion</i> =	^{3.} <i>Metion</i> , and several others.
 <i>Achæus</i> = <i>Ion.</i>	 <i>Ægeus</i>	 <i>Sicyon.</i>
 <i>Archander</i>	 <i>Theseus.</i>	

2. *Cecrops*

* Newton. p. 138. Pausan. Lib. II. c. 14.

2. *Cecrops* was the eldest Son, because he had the Kingdom, and *Xuthus* adjudged it to the eldest. *Pandion* was older than *Metion*, because he and his Line had the Crown of *Attica*. And in those turbulent Times, perhaps, *Cecrops* did not hold it long. *Metion*, therefore, might be the fourth or fifth Son. And as either other Sons or Daughters might be born before him, I suppose he might be ten or twelve Years younger than *Creusa*. She being the eldest, might be born in the 26th of *Erechtheus*; *Cecrops* in the 28th; *Pandion* in the 30th; and other Children might come between; so that *Metion* might be born in the 36th Year of *Erechtheus*'s Life.

Creusa might have *Achæus* and *Ion*, her Twin-Sons, in the 16th Year of her Age, about the 41st of *Erechtheus*. And *Ion* might be a brave Officer in the Flower of his Age, in the *Eleusinian* War; and being of a military Temper, be very fit for Command under the old King then about 70. And he seems to have been of a martial Genius, more than *Erechtheus*'s own Sons, which very probably was the Reason of that Choice of him to be *Athenian* General in that Expedition.

Pausanias gives this Account of these young Princes, that *Ion* in his Youth marched with an Army of *Atticans* to *Helice*, where he married the Heiress, and got a good Settlement there; so that he was of an enterprising Temper. *Achæus* went towards *Thessaly* to the Relations of his Father *Xuthus*, which seems to have been after his Grandfather's Death, and the Expulsion of *Xuthus* by the Rival-Brothers of the Royal Family of *Erechtheus*.

This, by the Bye, may intimate that *Cecrops* did not reign long; nor *Pandion* after him at least in Quiet. He was probably, as some say, driven to *Megara* by the *Metionidæ*, and stayed there, till he was restored by the Bravery of his own Son, *Ægeus*. All these Struggles of the Royal Family among themselves, may reasonably be supposed to take up a considerable Time; for there might be near equal Strength in each Party.

But now, if the *Metionidæ* were at last defeated by *Pandion*, under the Conduct of his Son *Ægeus*, an Heir like to defend his own Succession, as well as his Father's Throne: This furnisheth us with great Probabilities for clearing up these obscure Hints of such high Antiquity as to *Sicyon*.

3. *Sicyon*, in all these Family Wars, would naturally have acquired a good Measure of military Experience; and would therefore be very like to be invited by *Lamedon* to his Assistance. These were Qualifications proper for his Purpose. *Sicyon* himself, a Man of Spirit, Courage and High Birth, would not have an easy Situation in *Attica*, after the Defeat of his Family. As his military Experience and Bravery would recommend him as a proper Auxiliary to *Lamedon*; so his Uneasiness at Home would make the Invitation agreeable to himself. Besides, *Pausanias* tells us, that this *Lamedon* married an *Athenian* Lady, which might induce him further to turn his Thoughts that Way. We know not his own Lineage, so that he might perhaps have been a potent *Attican* himself, and personally acquainted with *Sicyon*; and it may

be a Partisan of the Faction of the *Metionidae*. Which may account for another Circumstance in this Relation, that upon the inviting him to this Auxiliary Service in the War, he offered him in Marriage, *Xeuxippe*, his Daughter, and probably his Heir.

4. This War with *Archander* and *Archetiles* the Sons of *Achæus*, will suit with the Genealogies in all the Families concerned.

Creusa might, in the Course of Nature, be born in *Erechtheus's* - - 26th.

Ion = *Achæus*, when she was 16 + 26, would be born in *Erechtheus's* 42d.

Archander born in *Achæus's* 25th Year, in *Erechtheus's* - - - - 67th.

Metion being a younger Son, born in *Erechtheus's* - - - - 36th.

Sicyon born in *Metion's* 25th, would be about *Erechtheus's* - - - 61st.

Now, by this Calculation, *Sicyon* would be about six or seven Years older than *Archander*; and so might be twelve or fifteen Years old at *Erechtheus's* Death, when *Archander* might be about six or nine.

5. *Cecrops*, with some Difficulty, might reign for some Years, suppose ten; and then *Pandion*, who succeeded, was greatly disturbed, and, as *Pausanias* says, went to *Megara* for some Time, till at last, by his Heroic Son *Ægeus*, he was established on the Throne of *Athens*. If it might be about fifteen Years from the Death of *Erechtheus* to the final Defeat of the *Metionidae*; then *Sicyon* might be about thirty, and *Archander* about twenty-three. This most aptly falls in with the Course of Nature. *Sicyon* would be an Officer of good Experience; and *Archander* being an enterprising young Prince of high Birth, Spirit and Courage, might be like, by Ambition, to be stimulated to daring Attempts.

But still, another Difficulty is to be discussed, *namely*, how this War of *Archander* will synchronize with the Age of the Successor of *Apis*, the Son of *Io*, the Daughter of *Inachus*. And the following Generations will illustrate it.

<i>Inachus.</i> —	—	<i>Lelex.</i> —	<i>Actæus.</i>		
<i>Phoroneus.</i>	—	<i>Eurotas.</i> -	<i>Cecrops.</i> —	—	<i>Deucalion.</i>
<i>Niobe.</i> —	<i>Io.</i> —	<i>Sparta.</i> —	<i>Cranaus.</i>		
<i>Argus.</i> —	<i>Apis.</i> —	<i>Eurydice.</i>	<i>Amphyction?</i> —	—	<i>Hellen.</i>
<i>Pyranthus.</i>	<i>Lybia.</i> —	<i>Danae.</i> -	<i>Erechtheus</i> S	—	
<i>Perseus.</i> —	<i>Belus.</i>	<i>Perseus.</i> -	<i>Metion</i> =	<i>Creusa</i> +	<i>Xuthus.</i>
<i>Gelanor.</i> —	<i>Danaus.</i>	<i>Alcæus.</i> -	<i>Sicyon</i> —	—	<i>Achæus.</i>
	Daughters. +	—	—	+	<i>Archander.</i>

In all Cases, where there is nothing said in History against it, we may accommodate what is said, to the Course of Nature; to make those Things which they do say, as near as may be, consistent with each other. And here, as we know not by any Historians, how soon after his Coming to the Throne, *Lamedon's* War with *Archander* commenced. It might be several Years

Years after, and yet be within the common Length of a Reign, as suppose ten Years. Since it might be so, we will that presume it was so. And it may be accounted for several Ways, which are not contradicted by any ancient Historians, nor inconsistent in themselves.

It may be *so in itself*, and therefore we shall now suppose that *Inachus* was one of the *eldest* Leaders of the Colonies from *Egypt*.

He was about ten Years older than *Lelex*.

Phoroneus was about ten Years older than *Eurotas*.

Niobe = *Io* about ten Years older than *Sparta*.

Apis was about ten Years older than *Eurydice* = *Erectheus*.

Lybia about contemporary, one being a Female Descent, with *Danae*.

Now, if *Apis* was about ten Years older than *Erectheus*, he might die ten Years before him, and then *Sicyon* would be about twenty-five when *Apis* died; and by the same Reasoning *Archander* might be about nineteen at that Time.

But, if these Conjectures are not admitted; yet still, as we know not by any ancient Historians, what Time *Lamedon* had been at *Sicyonia*, before *Archander* gave him any Disturbance; we may suppose it five or ten Years, as it will quadrate with other Circumstances which they do relate.

Historians say that *Archander* did invade him; and that *Sicyon* was called in to his Assistance, with Troops from *Attica* under his Command; and further, that *Lamedon* offered him his Daughter in Marriage, which he accepted. He was therefore younger than *Lamedon*, and then unmarried. But this Prince being of unknown Descent and Age, we have no Difficulty but this to bring *Apis's* Death so to synchronize with *Erectheus's* Family, that not only *Sicyon*, but *Archander* might be *old enough* to be fit for War, some Time after that Event. And all that the Historians say, being that there was such a War, we may suppose it to be deferred till *Archander* was fit for War; if that would, in the Course of Nature, correspond with other Circumstances.

Now it is plain that *Lamedon* might have been on the Throne, before *Archander* was old enough to think of making any Pretensions to his Territories; and yet he might reign, till he was *old enough* for forming such Designs. An aspiring Youth, of high Birth and Spirit, might be very fit for such ambitious Attempts at twenty-five, for which he was not fit at ten or fifteen Years old. About ten or fifteen Years will clear all the Difficulty in this Point. And this may be obtained by many different Conjectures, as *Apis's* being so much elder than *Erectheus*; or *Lamedon's* being long on the Throne, before the Commencement of this War. Hereby all this Series of History will agree to the Course of Nature. *Apis* and *Epopeus* will be the same Prince; *Lamedon* the Father-in-Law of *Sicyon* will be the Successor of *Apis*, the Son of *Io*; and this will expunge the long List of fabulous Kings of *Sicyon*, which are said to have reigned betwixt *Apis* and *Epopeus*.

Again;

Again; *Sicyon* succeeded *Lamedon*, the Successor of *Apis*, which will agree with the Course of Nature, according to parallel Generations, in all the Greek Families. And *Archander* and his Brother + Daughters of *Danaus*.

<i>Inachus.</i>	—	<i>Actæus.</i>
<i>Phoroneus.</i>	—	<i>Cecrops.</i>
<i>Niobe.</i>	— <i>Io.</i>	<i>Cranaus.</i>
<i>Argus.</i>	— <i>Apis</i> near	= <i>Erechtheus</i> near = <i>Amphyetion.</i>
<i>Pyranthus.</i>	<i>Lybia.</i>	— <i>Creusa.</i> — <i>Metion.</i>
<i>Perseus.</i>	— <i>Belus.</i>	— <i>Achæus.</i> — <i>Sicyon.</i>
<i>Stbenelus.</i>	— <i>Danaus.</i>	— <i>Archander.</i>
<i>Helas.</i>	—	Daughters, which married <i>Archander</i> and Brother.

If *Erechtheus* was near the Age of *Apis* and *Amphyetion*, whom he expelled from the Throne of *Attica*, then *Apis* might, in the Course of Nature, be dead before *Erechtheus*, as many Years, as he was elder, suppose ten; for they both died in Battle, or of Wounds received there; one in the *Theban*, the other in the *Eleusinian* War. And *Sicyon*, a young Hero in the Flower of his Age, might be invited by the Successor of *Apis* as an Auxiliary in the Wars of *Ægialeum*, which arose about the Succession to the Crown of *Apis*.

I think it indeed probable that *Apis*, or *Epopeus*, had a Son, namely, *Marathon*; but he, being disgusted at some Indiscretions of his Father, *Apis*, had withdrawn to the Maritime Coast of *Attica*, and made a new Settlement there, viz. the famous *Marathon*. His Absence gave *Lamedon* the Opportunity of fixing himself on the Throne; and when, by *Sicyon*'s Assistance, he had mastered all Opposition, he might leave the Throne to him. I apprehend that *Lamedon* had no Sons, and so called in *Sicyon*, by the Prospect of marrying his Daughter; so that this martial young Prince might aim at the Succession to the Throne he was to support; and accordingly obtained it. This Succession was not far from the Beginning of the Kingdom; since he procured it to be called *Sicyonia*, after his own Name. It was called *Ægialeum* after the first Founder; *Apis* called it *Apia*, after himself; and this Prince called it *Sicyonia*, which Name it retained to the last.

Sicyon had no Sons, according to *Pausanias*;* but a Daughter *Chthonophyle*; who, by *Mercury*, had *Polybus*, his Successor. It appears by this, that *Pausanias* thought he reigned long; because he took his Successor to be his Grandson. But I take *Polybus* to have been his Son. The Age of *Sicyon* may be further determined by the *Argonautic* Expedition. His Daughter *Chthonophyle* was married to that *Phlyas*, who was Son of *Bacchus* by *Ariadne*, and who was an *Argonaut*,† and had a Son *Androdamus* by her. *Bacchus* took *Ariadne* when he was pretty old; for it was on the Return from his nine

Years

* *Pausan.* Lib. II. c. 6. p. 125. † *Apollon. Argonautic.* Lib. I. *Pausan.* Lib. II. c. 6. p. 139.

Years *Asiatic* Expedition. And *Theseus*, from whom he took her, was in his Youth.

The Descent will be thus:

	-	-	Erechtheus	-	
Bacchus old	-	-	-	-	Metion — Pandion.
			Sicyon	-	- Ægeus.
Pblyas the Argonaut	-	-	-	+ Chthonophyle - Theseus young.	

As this *Phlyas* was an *Argonaut*, and married the Daughter of *Sicyon*, therefore *Sicyon* lived in the Age before that famous Expedition. Why *Phlyas* was found in *Greece*, to engage in an Expedition against the *Egyptian* Empire, set up by his Father *Bacchus*, (as Sir *Isaac Newton* explaineth the Reason of that Undertaking) may seem something difficult to clear. But it seems not an improbable Conjecture, that they left their Children with their Mothers, in every Country where they debauched them; and passed to new Amours, in every new Country. Besides; *Ariadne* died in *Greece*, and might not be delivered of *Phlyas* when *Bacchus* set forward towards *Egypt*; nor in the Circumstances of her Pregnancy, be fit to travel with the victorious Army, had it been customary.

Again; *Polybus* succeeded *Sicyon* in the Kingdom. But I think he was his own Son, and not his Daughter's, by *Mercury*. *Sicyon* had three Children, *Polybus* = *Chthonophyle* = *Lysianassa*; as I seem to gather from the following Particulars.

When *Oedipus* the Son of *Laius*, the *Theban* Prince, was born, he was exposed, and had his Feet bored through; from an Apprehension of *Laius*, according to the Prediction of the Oracle, that, if he had any Son, by his Queen *Jocasta*, he should be the Occasion of his Death. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, That the Servants, to whose Conduct the exposing the Infant was committed, having Compassion for him, carried him to the Wife of *Polybus* King of *Corinth*, or *Sicyon*, who was childless: * And he was brought up with her to Man's Estate. Knowing her to be *childless*, might induce them to cast him upon her Charity. *Pausanias* says, that *Polybus* King of *Sicyon* had a Daughter *Lyfianassa*. But *Diodorus*, the elder Writer, says that *Polybus's* Queen was *childless*. Now it is a very probable Story, that she should be fond of a Child, thus casually falling into her Hands, if she had none of her own: But it is greatly incredible, if she had an own Daughter, that she would educate this unknown Stranger, against the Interest of her own Daughter *Lyfianassa*. For which Reason, I conclude that *Lyfianassa* was the Sister, not the Daughter of *Polybus*. And then, as she was but Sister of her Husband

* *Diodorus* only says to *Polybus's Wife who was childless*. But this was the Age of *Polybus King of Sicyon, or Corinth*. *Diodor. Sic. Lib. IV. cap. 4.* But *Apollodorus, Lib. III. cap. 5. Sect. 7.* says, that it was *Polybus King of Corinth, whose Wife was barren.*

Their Genealogy is thus:

Aloes	—	—	Æetes	Hellemus.
Epopeus	—		Medea	Æolus.
Marathon	—	—	Sisyphus	= Cretheus.
Corinthus	—	—	Glaucus	— Jason.
Medea + Jason	—		Bellerophon	— Jason.

On this Genealogy we make the Observations following.

1. *Sisyphus*, soon after *Epopeus's* Death, got a Settlement at *Corinth*, or *Ephyrae*. *Marathon* Son of *Epopeus* probably attempted it; but miscarrying, retired to his favourite Colony of his own planting. *Sisyphus* probably died not long after. Then *Corinthus* Son of *Marathon* dispossessed the Sons of *Sisyphus*, and reigned probably to his Death; and called the Country *Corinth* after himself. From which we may conclude that he came to the Throne. It is further plain that *Glaucus*, eldest Son of *Sisyphus*, was a wandering Adventurer; and his Son *Bellerophon* settled abroad. Now *Corinthus* dying childless, and *Glaucus* being abroad, *Ornytion*, a younger Son of *Sisyphus*, who had stayed in unambitious Obscurity at home, might succeed at last to the Kingdom of his Father *Sisyphus*.

2. *Medæa*, Daughter of *Æetes*, could not succeed *Corinthus*, who was Great Grandson of *Aloeus* = *Æetes*. And she had several Children after she came with *Jason* to *Corinth*; and was therefore young. Nor could *Jason* reign there before *Sisyphus*; for he was Brother to *Jason's* Great Grandfather, *Salmonæus*.

3. *Jason* must have been in his Prime, and *Medea* young, when she went with him from *Colchis*, at the *Argonautic* Expedition. And he knew nothing of her before, so that his Reign at *Corinth* must have been after his Return.

4. She had several Children by *Jason* before they parted: And she could not fly to *Athens* and be married to *Ægeus*. For he was dead 30 Years before that Expedition. *Theseus* could not be under 20, when he returned successfully from *Crete*,* at which Time *Ægeus* cast himself from the Tower and perished. And *Theseus* was 50 at the Beginning of that celebrated Expedition of *Jason's*.

By comparing all this History and these Genealogies, it will I conceive be undeniably clear;

1. That *EURYDICE's* Age, the fourth in Descent from *Lelex*, is the true Date of the *Herculean* Family; and it is not to be fixed by the fabled Ancestry of *Acrisius*.

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2. That

* *Plutarch. Thef.*

2. That the *Argive* Line, which is clear in all Writers, from *INACHUS* to *Pyranthus*; and all *Confusion* afterwards, really ended in him, the last of the *Male-Line* of *Inachus*. So that *Inachus* can be no higher in Time, than the Age of *Lelex*. *

3. That *Apis* Son of *Io* was the *Epopeus* of *Sicyon*, who had the first War in that Kingdom. That it descended to *Sicyon* the Grandson of *Eretheus*; that his Daughter † *Talaus*, and by that Alliance *Sicyon* came to *Adrastus*; who flourished about an Age before the *Trojan* War. And as the long fabulous Line of *Sicyon* is rejected by Sir *John Marsham*, *Dupin*, *Prideaux*, *Jame-son*, and the *Great Newton*, I less suspect these Arguments, by which I have attempted the Proof of its Forgery: Tho' its high Antiquity is allowed by *Scaliger*, *Usher*, and many other learned Writers, chiefly on the Authority of *Pausanias* and *Eusebius*.

4. That *Eretheus's* Line will synchronize with *Sicyon's* marrying the Heiress of *Lamedon*, the Successor of *Apis*, Grandson of *Inachus*, if the two Reigns of *Erethionius* and *Pandion* be rejected.

5. *Archander* and his Brother might, in the Course of Nature, according to this rectified Chronology, marry the Daughters of *Danaus*: Whereas the learned Dean *Prideaux* concludes these Marriages impossible; and upon that, denieth *Pausanias's* express Testimony. † And this is no singular Proceeding in the learned Dean. All Authors have made Use of these Criticisms from the Nature of Things, even against the clearest ancient Testimonies. When ancient Authors relate *Impossibilities*, they must be rejected, notwithstanding their Antiquity: And when *Contradictions*, we must examine on which Side the *Probability* lieth, and determine accordingly.

S E C T. VI.

On the House of Pelasgus.

I SHALL next consider the ancient House of *Pelasgus*, and shew that there is a Consistency in the Reports of the ancient *Greeks*, as to his being contemporary with *Inachus*, *Lelex*, *Cecrops*, and the other Planters and Improvers of *Greece*. And I take it, that they are named, and none before them, because they were within the Time of Tradition, or what they could remember, or convey the Notice of by Memory; as they might do, for two or three Generations, before *Cadmus* brought the Use of *Letters* into *Europe*. I shall therefore first state their parallel Genealogies in this View.

But I must remark also, that I doubt not these Leaders of Colonies came about that Time; so as that their following Generations, were in Succession, such as they are set down in the ancient *Greek* Genealogies, and coming down to the Age of *LEONIDAS*.

Their

* Not as some say before *Moses*, or even *Abraham*. † *Prid. Not. Historic. ad Marmor.*

Their Lines of Descent to the Trojan War, were thus, parallel with the Jewish Line.

Eli - - - -	Lelex - - - -	Pelasgus.	
Samuel - -	Eurotas - - - -	Hæmon. - - - -	Lycaon.
Saul - - -	Sparta - - - -	Tbessalus, &c. - - - -	Calisto.
		succeeded by the Hellenes.	
DAVID - -	EURYDICE - - - -		Arcas.
Solomon - -	Danae - - - -		Clitor.
Rehoboam -	Perseus - - - -		Aphidas.
Abijah - -	Alcaeus - - - -		Aleus.
Asa - - -	Amphytrion - - - -		Lycurgus.
Jehoshaphat	Hercules - - - -		Ancæus.
Jehoram.	Hyllus - - - -		Agapenor at Troy.

Several learned Men have considered this People, as a great Colony that had been in being since the General Dispersion; and that they were called *Pelasgi* from their wandering; and took their Name as they were Wanderers. But as the ancient *Greek* Writers mention one *Pelasgus* as well as one *Lelex*, who had Children descending from him, in such a Line of Genealogies as answers to parallel Generations in the other great Families of *Greece*; and, as all the other *Greek* Tribes or Nations, are named from some Head of the Family, which their Historians point to in the Line of Succession; sometimes from the first, as the *Leleges* from *Lelex*, *Attica* from *Actæus*, the *Pelasgians* from *Pelasgus*; sometimes from a Successor in the second, third, or fourth Generation, as the *Hellenes* from *Hellen*; the *Æolians* from *Æolus*; the *Dorians* from *Dorus*; the *Sicyonians* from *Sicyon*; the *Danai*, *Achæi* and *Ionians*, from *Danaus*, *Achæus* and *Ion*; the *Argivi* from *Argus*; and the *Arcadians* from *Arcas*;—As this cannot be denied without denying most of the *Greek* Antiquities, and as we find a parallel Conduct even in much elder Nations, as the *Jews* were called *Judæi* from *Judah*, and *Israelites* from *Israel*, not *Abramites* from *Abraham*. In like Manner, I do not see why *Pelasgus* might not give Name to his Tribe, since it came to *Greece* under his Conduct: Tho' I cannot pursue this Enquiry, why he was called *Pelasgus*, any more than I can determine the Reason of *Lelex*, or *Cecrops*, or others of the ancient *Greek* Planters, having been so named.

I conclude, therefore, that *Pelasgus* was one of the most powerful Planters that came from *Egypt*, as I think, on the Expulsion of the *Pastors*: It is plain by the coinciding of their Generations in parallel Time, that they came

Æzeus, unknown.

Phoroneus.

Lycaon I.

Niobe + Jupiter.

Deinisa. +

+ Pelasgus.

Lycaon II.

Piasus.

Larissa.

Pelasgus II. = Achæus = Phtbius.

Chlorus.

Hæmon.

Græcus.

Thessalus conquered by Deucalion.

Deucalion.

Hellen.

Æolus and five Descents more to Troy.

*Dionysius Halicarnassensis** seems to have been the great Corruptor of this Story of the *Pelasgian* Nation; tho' I own he refers to some ancient Authors now lost, for his Vouchers. † He says that the three Brothers *Pelasgus*, *Phtbius*, and *Achæus*, about five Ages after the first *Pelasgus*, settled in *Arcadia*, removed themselves with a great Army into *Thessaly*, and overcame the greatest Part of *Greece*, without the *Isthmus*; calling the Country *Pelasgia*, after the Name of their Nation: And that four or five Successors of this *Pelasgus* II. reigned there in *Thessalia*, before *Cecrops* came to *Attica*; and before *Deucalion* expelled the *Pelasgians* from that Country.

Now, there are several Things inconsistent with other Histories of *Greece*.
1. Here is the same Female-Ancestor, *Niobe*, the Daughter of *Phoroneus*, who was, by the Consent of all the Mythologists, the first mortal Woman that *Jupiter* lay with; who had *Argus*, by *Jupiter*, the celebrated Father of the *Argive* State, and named from him. So that she had not *Pelasgus* by him; for no Author calls *Argus* and *Pelasgus* Twins. And there is no Instance in the Mythology of *Paganism*, of any of the Gods making Use of one Woman twice.

2. By

* *Dionys. Halicarn. Rom. Antiq. Lib. I. p. 9. Edit. Sylburg. Wechel.*

† *Dion. Hal. Edit. Sylburg. Rom. Antiq. p. 14.*

2. By a careful Examination of the lineal Succession from *Inachus* to *Troy*, it will appear there were ten Generations inclusively; and from *Argus*, seven Generations to the same Period. But from *Pelasgus*, the Son of the same Mother, *Niobe*, there were eight or nine Generations to *Deucalion*; and from *Deucalion* to *Troy* were eight or nine Generations more; in all seventeen Generations at least, according to these Authors. And the seven Generations fill up the parallel Time of the seventeen Generations. Now this is an utter *Impossibility*, in the Course of Nature; and therefore one of the Accounts must be rejected: And that it must be the Fable of this Descent of *Pelasgus*, is obvious from the others synchronizing so nearly with the other *Greek* Genealogies.

3. By the Historians making two *Pelasgus*'s and two *Lycaons* they have greatly perplexed the Story of the *Pelasgians*; and also confounded the Two Branches of this House. Whereas, if we take one *Pelasgus* to be the Father of both the Tribes, and *Lycaon* to be, perhaps, his elder Son; then his Family will be as regular a Succession as any in *Greece*, in the *Arcadian* Race of Kings. And *Ænotrus*, the Son of *Lycaon*, would very properly be the Planter of *Italy*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* often hints. Then again, as *Pelasgus* was probably *old* when he came to *Greece*, both *Lycaon* and his other Brother *Hæmon* might be considerable Men, and Heads of large Families; and so *Hæmon* might aspire to be the Head of another Colony, going more North from the *Isthmus*. That he reigned some Time, is (I think) plain, because the Country is Part of it named after him, *Hæmonia*. *Thessalus* might be his Son, and I think he reigned too, for some Time, for the same Reason, that a fine Country is named from him *Thessalia*. And there might be a Son or Brother of *Hæmon*'s, who came along with this Colony, who might name a Part of the Country *Phthiotis*, after himself, or *Græcia* from *Græcus*.

4. It must be noted that *Deucalion*, by his Genealogy to the *Trojan* Times, appears to have been the next Generation to the first Planters. For, by the *Parian* Chronicle, he came to *Parnassus* in the ninth of *Cecrops*.* And Dr. *Prideaux*, in his *Notæ Historiæ ad Marmor*. observes that there is Mention of several Countries adjacent, in which he reigned. Now, I think, that this implies, that he resided in several Parts, while *Hæmon* and his *Pelasgians* did reign in *Hæmonia* and *Thessaly*; and perhaps some of his Successors, as *Thessalus* and *Græcus*, who might be Brothers, came to the Government in those Countries. And probably *Deucalion* might die in an unsettled State. But his Son, *Hellen*, either by Intermarriages with some of the *Pelasgic* Line; or by *Thessalus* and *Græcus* dying without Children; or by Conquest of the *Pelasgians*;—I say, he might, by some of these Ways, attain to the Sovereignty over these Countries: And hereby the Genealogies will very near run parallel with the Kings, or Heads of those States.

5. In all the great Families of *Greece*, when a reigning Family failed, there their History is always most confused. So it is as to the *Pelasgians*. *Lycaon*'s Line,

* *Marmor. Arundel. Epoch. 2. Edit. Prideaux.*

Line, among the *Arcadians*, is very regular and clear in its Descents. But *Hæmon's* Line being interrupted by their own Failing, or by the Competitions of the *Hellenes*, is shut up in Confusion, and lost we know not how.

6. The *oldest* Accounts of the Descents are generally *best*; which is natural to expect, as these Things would be most fresh in Memory, that happened nearest to the Historian's Time; and we can remember our Grandfather's Family and Affairs much more distinctly than those of our Great Great Grandfather's. But where-ever we meet with a Departure from the *first* Accounts, it is generally in the *amplifying* Way.

S E C T. VII.

On Deucalion's Line to Troy.

TH O' *Deucalion*, according to the *Marbles*, came but in the Ninth of *Cecrops*, yet his Line of Genealogy down to the *Trojan* War, being as long as any other in *Greece*; we must suppose him, to have come in the very next Generation to the other Planters; and to have been among the *eldest* of the second Generation: Such as *Lycaon* and *Cecrops*, who are expressly mentioned as his Contemporaries. I have noted, that he did not reign at first in *Pbthiotis*, while the *Pelasgians*, under *Hæmon* and his Family, were there. But that his House, by Death, Intermarriage or Conquest, either expelled or succeeded the *Pelasgians*. Hence his Name is at the Head of the List. The *oldest* Genealogical Succession is that from his Daughter *Protogenia* + *Jupiter*. She was by her Name *Protogenia*, his *eldest* Child, or First-born; and therefore elder than *Hellen*. And as we know not that he was the next, we will suppose her four Years older. As Women are adult sooner than Men, and she was four Years older than *Hellen*; so she might, in the Course of Nature, have her Son *Æthlius* when she was 16, at which Time *Hellen* would be 12. } *Hellen* might have *Æolus* at 25.

Æthlius would be 1. } *Æthlius* would be at that Time 13.

Æolus might have *Calice* when he was 25.

Æthlius would then be $13 + 25 = 38$.

Calice might be marriageable at — 16.

Æthlius would then be $38 + 16 = 54$.

There are these Difficulties in this Marriage of *Æthlius* and *Calice*. (1.) *Æthlius* lived in too long a Celibacy, for that Age of the World, being 54 Years. (2.) *Calice* would be rather too young for this Match, being then but 16. (3.) This Line of Succession is longer than any other in *Greece*; tho' the *Herculean* Line to *Troy*, had three Women in the Succession, and this but one, through *Æolus*. So that I reject this Marriage of *Æthlius* + *Calice*. But I suppose that *Æthlius* was the Husband, not the Son

Son of *Protogenia*; for this Reason farther, that she could scarce be so old as *Niobe*, which was the first Woman that *Jupiter* had a Child by, according to all the Mythologists.

The Successions from *Deucalion* to *Troy*.

<i>Deucalion.</i>			
<i>Protogenia.</i>	<i>Hellen.</i>		
<i>Endymion.</i>	<i>Æolus.</i>		
<i>Ætolus.</i>	<i>Eurycydas.</i>	<i>Cretheus = Salmoneus.</i>	<i>Sisyphus.</i>
<i>Pleuron.</i>	<i>Eleus.</i>	<i>Amythaon.</i>	<i>Tyro.</i>
<i>Agenor.</i>	<i>Augeas.</i>	<i>Bias + Pero.</i>	<i>Neleus.</i>
<i>Partbaon.</i>	<i>Phyleus.</i>	<i>Talaus.</i>	<i>Nestor.</i>
<i>Æneus.</i>	<i>Meges.</i>	<i>Adrastus.</i>	<i>Thrasymed.</i>
<i>Tydeus + at Troy.</i>	<i>+ Deipyle.</i>	<i>at Troy.</i>	<i>He fell at Troy.</i>
<i>Diomedes.</i>		<i>Diomedes at Troy.</i>	

It must be allowed that there might be a considerable Difference betwixt the Ages of the first and last Child of *Æolus*, who had 16 Children by one Queen. But about 20 Years may be supposed the utmost. And, as the very longest Lines from *Deucalion* are, this of *Protogenia* his eldest Child, down to *Diomed*; and that from *Hellen*, ending in the same Hero; we may justly suppose that this was the longest Course of Generations that could, in the Course of Nature, intervene betwixt *Deucalion* and the *Trojan War*; since there is but one Female in each Descent. It must generally have been by the eldest Sons, because they are the longest Descents. But yet we see, in so many Branches of *Æolus*'s Family, that there are no great Differences in the parallel Generations for so long a Time. And again, comparing *Deucalion*'s Line with that of any of the Planters of *Greece*, who are recorded to the *Trojan Age*, it will appear by their equal Lengths, that *Greece* was planted by these Fathers of the different States, but an Age before him.

<i>Actæus.</i>	<i>Lelex.</i>	<i>Atlas.</i>	<i>Inachus.</i>	<i>Pelasgus.</i>
<i>Cecrops.</i>	<i>Eurotas.</i>	<i>Taygete.</i>	<i>Phoroneus.</i>	<i>Lycaon.</i>
<i>Cranaus.</i>	<i>Sparta.</i>	<i>Lacedæmon.</i>	<i>Niobe.</i>	<i>Calisto.</i>
<i>Erechtheus.</i>	<i>Eurydice.</i>	<i>Amyclas.</i>	<i>Argus.</i>	<i>Arcas.</i>
<i>Pandion.</i>	<i>Metion.</i>	<i>Danae.</i>	<i>Cynortes.</i>	<i>Pyrranthus.</i>
<i>Ægeus.</i>	<i>Orneus.</i>	<i>Perseus.</i>	<i>Æbalus.</i>	<i>Perseus.</i>
				<i>childless.</i>
<i>Theseus.</i>	<i>Peleus.</i>	<i>Alcæus.</i>	<i>Tindareus.</i>	<i>Sthenelus.</i>
<i>Acamas.</i>	<i>Mnestheus.</i>	<i>Amphytrion.</i>	<i>Castor & Pollux.</i>	<i>Eurystheus.</i>
		<i>Hercules.</i>	<i>Menelaus.</i>	<i>Atreus.</i>
			<i>+ Helena.</i>	
		<i>Tlepolemus.</i>		<i>Agamemnon.</i>
				<i>Agapenor.</i>

We

We may conclude that *Lelex* and *Pelasgus's* Line, being the very longest of any of the *Greek* Genealogies, contain as many Generations, as could in the Course of Nature intervene, betwixt the Plantation of *Greece* by these *Egyptian* Strangers, and the celebrated Wars of *Troy*. These Generations, that are nearest in Number, may be by the eldest Sons; and the shortest may be by the youngest. But it is, surely, highly improbable that any one Line should entirely, or for the most Part, proceed by the youngest Sons; as a learned Author* has supposed for the solving of some Difficulties.

S E C T. VIII.

On the Genealogy of Cadmus.

TH O' *Cadmus* came into *Greece* later than the first Planters and Improvers of that Country; yet, as he first imported *Letters*, his Coming must be a memorable Period in the *Greek* Story. The Time of his Coming must be partly determined by express History, partly by synchronizing his Family by his Marriage with another House; and partly by considering his own Genealogy down to the Siege of *Troy*.

(1.) The Time of *Cadmus's* Coming may be determined by Historical Testimony. The *Parian* Chronicle expressly tells us that † *Cadmus* came into *Greece* when *Hellen* reigned in *Phthiotis*, and *Amphyction* in *Athens*.

(2.) His Wife, *Harmonia*, was the Sister of *Jafus* ‡ = *Dardanus*. But *Jafus*, for making some indecent Attempt upon *Ceres*, was killed by Lightning. Which Event so grieved *Dardanus*, that he left *Samothrace*, and passing over to the Continent of *Asia*, was hospitably received by *Teucer*; and marrying his Daughter, succeeded in the Kingdom. || From this Circumstance, of his marrying in *Samothracia*, we may infer that he came from *Phœnicia*, a young Man, unmarried. *Harmonia* was Sister to the Founders of the Kingdom of *Troy*, in this Descent to *Hector*.

Teucer.

Dardanus = *Harmonia* + *Cadmus* = *Phœnix*.

Erichthonius. *Polydore*. ——— *Europa*.

Tros. ——— *Laodacus*. ——— *Minos*.

Ilus. ——— *Laius*. ——— *Androgeus* = *Creteus*.

Laomedon. — *Oedipus*. ——— *Deucalion*.

Priam. — *Polynices*. ——— *Idomeneus*, old.

Hector. ——— *Thersander*.

Now these Genealogies of the *Trojan* Line to *Hector*, and of *Cadmus's* Line to that War, do so regularly synchronize with each other, that we cannot suspect but that it is near the same Space of Time that they each of them took up.

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A a

Again;

* Squire. † *Marmor. Arundel. Epoch.* 6, 7. ‡ *Diodor. Sic. Lib. V. c. 3.* || *Apollodor. Lib. III. c. 11. Sect. 1.*

Again ; as to *Cadmus's* own Line, we find every Succession marked with Actions ; many of which go far to determine their Age, and demonstrate that this must have been a Succession chiefly by the eldest Sons. *Cadmus* had but one Son, *Polydore* ; yet he was old enough for Government when *Cadmus* went to *Illyrium*. He left his Son *Labdacus* an Infant of a Year old, under the Care of *Lycus* ; as *Apollodorus* says. And *Laius** could not be old when he married into *Menetius's* Family. *Oedipus* was but just at Age, when he inadvertently killed his Father, *Laius* : And *Oedipus's* Sons killed each other in single Combat, in the first *Theban* War ; which was when they were but young. Again ; *Thersander* fell in the Beginning of the *Trojan* War, and left his Son too young for any Command of his own National Troops, in the Prosecution of that War. Hence it is manifest this could not be a Line of any uncommon Length.

S E C T. IX.

On the Line of Pelops.

I KNOW no great Difficulty remaining as to the genuine Antiquity of Greece, if we can synchronize *Lelex* and his Contemporaries with the Kings of *Israel*. However, as *Pelops's* became a great House, it may be proper to consider it ; tho' he is too late to fix the Antiquity of Greece ; yet it may illustrate it, by several remarkable Synchronisms, which occur in this Story.

Pelops, Son of *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*, came to Greece with ample Fortune in Money and Goods ; but, having no Hereditary Claim to any Possessions in that Country, he made Pretensions to *Hippodamia*, Heiress of *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa*. *Oenomaus* offered her to any that could overcome himself in the Chariot-Race. After many Pretenders had miscarried, *Pelops* conquered him by Fraud, and married *Hippodamia*. And, as to the Age of his Coming, I calculate from this Synchronism, that the Sons of *Perseus* the *Argive*, married the Daughters of *Pelops* : Therefore *Perseus* = *Pelops*.

I next observe, that having no Possessions in Greece, except *Pisa* his Wife's Inheritance ; but having much moveable Wealth, he sent his eldest Sons abroad, to make Settlements for themselves ; as *Pittheus* at *Trezene*, &c. — I note further, that *Atreus* and *Thyestes* were probably among his youngest Sons, and so were not old enough to remove, till *Pelops* himself was grown in Years, and might desire to have some of his own Sons to take off some Burthen

* *Laius* was left a Minor under the same *Lycus*, who had been Regent under his Father *Labdacus*. And that *Amphion* and *Zethus* were considerably older than *Laius* appears from *Pausan.* Lib. IX. c. 5. That *Amphion* and *Zethus*, having raised an Army, invaded *Thebes*, and defeated *Lycus* and seized the Kingdom, *Και Λαίον μὲν ὑποκλεπτοῦσιν, οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελές, μὴ γενέσθαι τὸ Κασμίου γένος, ἐς τοὺς ἐπείλα, ἀνανυμῶν.* Those, who had a Concern to preserve the *Cadmean* Name, stole *LAIUS* away from Danger, which implies he was but a Child, when *Amphion* and *Zethus* were Men.

then of Affairs from him ; and, as his other Sons might be settled, he might keep them at home, to be near for the Succession at *Pisa*. *Atreus*, being one of the youngest Sons, might live long in his Father's Court, and grow popular in *Pelop's* Old-age, and easily fall into the Succession. And he himself lived to a great Age ; for he died but the Year before the Rape of *Helena*.

But further, the great Accession of Power to this Family, was, by their being chosen to the Succession at *Mycenæ*, after *Eurystheus* and his Sons fell in the Battle with the *Athenians*, and *Hyllus* Son of *Hercules*.*

Another Synchronism is, *Pelops* killed *Stymphalus* the *Arcadian*; by Treachery, and had War with *Ætolus*. So that *Pelops* = *Stymphalus* = *Ætolus* = *Perseus*. Then his own Line will be thus :

Minos. — *Pelops.*

Creteus. — *Atreus*, youngest Son of *Pelops*.

† *Ærope* † *Plisthenes*, ‡ I think dead before *Atreus*.

Menelaus = *Agamemnon* adopted by *Atreus*.

Thus I have endeavoured to adjust the Antiquity of *Greece*, according to the oldest, or longest, Lines of their Genealogies. But, as I have shewn that there are several shorter Lines, and much more in Number than the longer Lines of Successions to the same Period, the *Trojan War*; I conclude that the longest Lines must be supposed to be made up of the eldest Sons, or those that were married very young. And, if there be supposed any Difficulty in the shortest Lines of Succession, such as those of *Minos*, they are as great Difficulties in the old System as the new.

A a 2

CHAP.

Apollod. Lib. II. cap. 8.

† Another Genealogy of *Plisthenes*.

Eacus.

Phocus = Peleus = Telamon.

Plisthenes — *Crisus.* *Achilles.*

Agamemnon = Anaxibia + *Strophius.* He's *Epistrophus*

the *Phocian* General in *Homer.*

Pylades = Orestes.

† *Apollodorus* gives here a Genealogy of the Family of *Danaus*, which is of as much Authority as that of *Apollonius Rhod. Argonautic. Lib. I. v. 133.* which Mr. *Squire* espouses. *Apollodor. Lib. III. Cap. 2. Sect. 2.* states it thus :

<i>Minos.</i>	—	—	—	—	—	<i>Danaus.</i>
<i>Creteus.</i>	=	<i>Androgeus</i>	=	<i>Deucalion.</i>	—	<i>Amymone.</i>
<i>Æropes</i>	=	<i>Clymenes.</i>	—	—	—	<i>Nauplius.</i>
<i>Agamemnon.</i>	—	—	—	—	—	<i>Palamedes.</i>

CHAP. XV.

On the Greek Chronology from the Destruction of Troy, and the Return of the Heraclidæ, to the Reign of Leonidas, and the Battle of Thermopylæ.

THIS long War introduced great Confusion into all the States of Greece. For many of their Generals, which were the Kings and Heads of their several Territories, falling in the War; and others, being by contrary Winds, or Shipwrecks, driven to foreign Shores and prevented in their Return; their States became weak, both by many domestic Disorders, which sprung up in their Absence; and by the Interruption of the Lineal Succession in others. Before the Commencement of this War, *Hercules* himself was dead; and, tho' he had a numerous Posterity and many Dependants; yet all his Family was expelled from *Peloponnesus* by *Eurystheus* Son of *Sthenelus*, Son of *Perseus*.* The *Herculean* Family were forced to take Shelter where they could be received. But at last, coming to *Athens*, and casting themselves as Supplicants before the Altar of *Mercy*, they were not only hospitably entertained by them; but the *Athenians* joined them with an Army; which, in a decisive Action, defeated their great Adversary, *Eurystheus*. Himself was slain by *Hyllus* Son of *Hercules*,† and all his Sons perished in the Battle. Thus one Branch of the House of *Perseus* was extirpated by another Branch of the same House.

After this Defeat, the Territories of *Eurystheus* fell to *Atreus*, the Brother of *Plisthenes*, the Father of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; by which Accession, that House became very potent in Greece. Some Time after this Conquest of *Eurystheus*, the Trojan War was undertaken, in Revenge of the Rape of *Helena*. During this War, *Hyllus*, at the Head of the *Herculean* Family, attempts a Return into *Peloponnesus*, and fell in a single Combat by *Echamus*, an *Arcadian* Prince; who might have the Kingdom, while *Agapenor* was General of his National Troops at *Troy*; being about the same Age with the brave *Echamus*.‡

Eurystheus was slain in the first Attempt of the *Heraclidæ* to return: *Hyllus* in the second: *Cleodeus* in the third: *Aristomachus* in the fourth: And *Aristodemus* died soon after their Return,|| leaving his Kingdom of *Sparta* to his two Sons, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, then but young.

The *Spartan* Monarchy continued under their Successors, in two Lines of Kings, down to the Age of the Great *LEONIDAS*; and some Ages further.

SECT.

* *Apollodor.* p. 89. Edit. Gale. † *Ibid.* p. 140. ‡ *Newt. Chronol.* p. 63. Edit. 8vo.
|| *Pausanias* often says, that *Aristodemus* died before their Settlement.

S E C T. I.

On the Distance from the Destruction of Troy, to the Settling of the Heraclidæ in Peloponnesus.

MY first Attempt here is to calculate the Duration from these two Periods, the Fall of *Troy*, and the Re-establishment of the *Herculean* Family in *Sparta*. This must be done both from the Testimony of ancient History, and the considering the Genealogies of the *Greek* Families in parallel Generations.

I may first observe that *Thucydides*, one of the most exact Historians among the *Greeks*, has computed this celebrated Event to be about 80 Years after the *Trojan* War.

The *Græcian* Princes that were at *Troy*, who had their Territories in the *Peloponnesus*, or their Contemporaries, were at

<i>Mycenæ.</i>	<i>Messenia.</i>	<i>Ætolia.</i>	<i>Arcadia.</i>	<i>Athens.</i>	<i>Thebes.</i>
<i>Agamemnon.</i>	<i>Thrasymed.</i>	<i>Thoas.</i>	<i>Agapenor.</i>	<i>Demophoon.</i>	<i>Thersander.*</i>

These Princes had, parallel with the *Herculean* Line, their Sons as follow :

<i>Hercules.</i>	<i>Hyllus.</i>	<i>Cleodeus.</i>	<i>Aristomachus.</i>	<i>Aristodemus.</i>
	— <i>Antiochus.</i>	<i>Phylas.</i>	<i>Hippotas.</i>	<i>Aletes.</i> Pausan. p. 120.
	— <i>Ctesippus.</i>	<i>Thrasyanor.</i>	<i>Antimachus.</i>	<i>Deiphontes.</i> Ibid. p. 152.
<i>Arcadia.</i>	<i>Hippothous.</i>	<i>Æpytus.</i>	<i>Cypselus.</i>	<i>Daughter.</i> Ibid. p. 608.
<i>Corinth.</i>	<i>Propadas.</i>	<i>Doridas.</i>	<i>Hyanthidas.</i>	<i>Aletes.</i> Ibid. p. 120.
<i>Athens.</i>	<i>Demophoon.</i>	<i>Oxyntus.</i>	<i>Aphidas.</i>	<i>Thymeles.</i> Ibid. p. 152.
<i>Messenia.</i>	<i>Thrasymed.</i>	<i>Sillus.</i>	<i>Alcmaeon.</i>	} Ibid. p. 151, 152.
<i>Penclynceu.</i>	<i>Penthylus.</i>	<i>Borus.</i>	<i>Andropompus.</i>	
	<i>Antilochus.</i>	<i>Pæon.</i>	<i>Sons.</i>	
<i>Argos.</i>	} <i>Agamemnon.</i>		<i>Orestes.</i>	<i>Tisamenus,</i> old when they came.
<i>Mycenæ.</i>			+	
<i>Laconia.</i>	<i>Menelaus.</i>		<i>Hermione</i>	= <i>Penthylus,</i> a Bastard Son.
<i>Thebes.</i>	<i>Thersander.</i>		<i>Tisamenus.</i>	<i>Antefson.</i> <i>Tberas.</i>

Having now laid down the Successions of the reigning Families of *Greece* to the *Trojan* War, and those who were in their several Thrones at the Time of that War ; we cannot but observe how regularly these Successions run on in near parallel Generations ; so that these must have been in ordinary Lines, according to the common Course of Nature.

As

* *Hom. Iliad. passim.*

As to *Argos* and *Sparta*; after that War, its very obvious what a disordered Condition their several States were reduced to. *Agamemnon* himself was murdered soon after his Return, by his adulterous Queen and the Accomplices of the Adulterer. And their Faction was so powerful as to banish his Son, *Orestes*, from *Mycenæ*. He was for some Time a Fugitive in different Parts of *Greece*, till * *Chilaribes*, the Son of *Sthenelus*, the Companion of *Diomed* at *Troy*, dying without Issue, the *Argives* chose *Orestes* into the Succession at *Argos*. And, after *Menelaus*'s Death, the *Spartans* † preferring him, who was the Husband of *Hermione*, to the Sons of *Menelaus*, whom he had by a Servant, he obtained *Sparta* also. The *Heracidae* returned into *Peloponnesus* in the Reign of *Tisamenus*, Son of *Orestes*, when he was pretty old. And expelling the Natives, settled at *Sparta*, under the young Sons of *Aristodemus*, or under *Aristodemus* himself. ‡

Temenus and *Cresphontes*, Sons of *Aristomachus*, turned their Eyes on *Argos*; and, when *Temenus* had obtained *Argos*, *Cresphontes* demanded *Messenia* to be assigned to him, || which he at last obtained. But he and his *Dorians* did not expel the native *Messenians*, only the reigning Family of *Neleus*. For *Cresphontes*, marrying *Merope*, Daughter of *Cypselus*, King of *Arcadia*, settled without Opposition in those Parts of *Peloponnesus*. *Cresphontes*, behaving with too much Popularity to the *Plebeians*, exasperated the Nobles; so that he and all his Children were cut off by them, except *Æpytus*, the youngest; who, being then a Child, was brought up with *Cypselus*, his maternal Grandfather in *Arcadia*. §

Temenus, when he was settled at *Argos*, very openly preferred *Deiphontes* to his own Sons; and married him to his favourite Daughter, *Hyrnethon*. This raised Jealousies among his Sons, lest he should declare *Deiphontes* Successor to the Kingdom; wherefore they, by secret Snares, cut him off. *Cisus*, the eldest of his Sons, succeeded him. But the *Argives*, being very fond of Liberty, and tenacious of the Privilege of equal Laws, reduced the Regal Power to such narrow Bounds, that *Cisus*'s Posterity retained little more than the Name of Kings.

ARCADIA.] *Agapenor*, not returning from *Troy*, and no doubt *Ecbemus* being dead, (I think, before the End of the War) the *Arcadian* Line in this Succession came to the Crown, viz. *Arcas*—*Elatus*—*Stymphalus*—*Agamedes*—*Cercyon*—*Alope*—*Hypotheus*. *Hypotheus* thus lineally descended from *Pelagus*, came to the Crown of *Arcadia*, after the *Trojan* War. Tho' he was (probably) about the same Age with *Ecbemus* = *Agapenor*. He left one Son, *Æpytus*; who had *Cypselus*, who reigned at the Time of the Return of the *Heracidae*. He, to prevent the Violences of War, hearing that *Cresphontes* was unmarried, offered him his Daughter in Marriage; and, by that Alliance, secured his Country from the Devastations of which he was so apprehensive.

THEBES.]

* *Pausan.* p. 150. † *Ibid.* p. 151, 152. Edit. Kuhn. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 151. *Pausan.* p. 205. says that *Aristodemus* was slain at *Delphos*, by the Sons of *Pylades*, the Friend of *Orestes*. || *Pausan.* p. 285. § *Ibid.* p. 286.

THEBES.] When the *Heracidae* returned, *Theras*, a lineal Descendant of *Cadmus*, joined them in the Invasion of *Peloponnesus*. He was Brother-in-Law to *Aristodemus*, who had married *Argia*, the Daughter of *Antefion*, the Sister of *Theras*. When *Aristodemus* died, *Theras* was chosen Governor of the young Sons of *Aristodemus*, as he was their maternal Uncle. The *Theban* Family had had several Distractions among them, before the *Trojan War*; owing, as they thought, to the *Diræ* [or Curse] of *Oedipus*.

The Succession from *Thersander* was thus, in the *Cadmean Line*:

Thersander—*Tisamenus*—*Antefion*—*Theras*—*Oiolycus*.

Thersander dying in Battle near the Beginning of the *Trojan War*, *Tisamenus* was, at Home, too young for War, upon which the *Thebans* chose four Generals: Some of which were, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, of this Descent: *

Æolus—*Arne*—*Bæotus*—*Itomus*—*Hippalcimus*—*Peneleus*, at *Troy*. But *Peneleus* falling at *Troy*, *Tisamenus* succeeded to the Crown. *Tisamenus* seemed to escape the *Diræ* of his Fathers; he reigning quietly at *Thebes*. But *Antefion* his Son was commanded by the Oracle to abdicate †, and so joined the *Herculean* Family before their Return. The *Thebans* chose for their King *Damafichthon*, Son of *Ophieltes*, the Son of *Peneleus*, who was killed at *Troy*. *Damafichthon*'s Son, *Ptolemeus*, and his Grandson, *Xanthus*, reigned to his Death. ‡ After his Death, the *Thebans* laid aside Kingly Government, and set up a Republic. After which they for several Ages made a much greater Figure in *Greece*.

Theras, who was Tutor or Governor to the minor Twin-Kings of *Sparta*, stayed there, till they were at Man's Estate; and took upon them the Kingdom. But then he removed to, and settled a Colony in, an Island which he named *Thera*, after himself. His Son *Oiolycus* chose to stay with the young Princes at *Sparta*, whom *Theras* called *Oiolycus*, i. e. Sheep among Wolves.

ÆTOLIA or ELIS.] *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, the Son of *Andræmon*, was a brave young Officer at *Troy*. His Line was thus:

Æneus—*Gorge*—*Thoas*—*Hæmon*—*Oxylus*—*Praxonidas*—*Iphitus*.

Thoas might, probably, have this Son after his Return from *Troy*; because the Invasion was in *Oxylus*'s Time. *Eleus*, the Son of *Amphimachus*, the Son of *Polyxenus* who was at *Troy*, had the Kingdom of *Elis*, when the *Heracidae* projected their Return by Shipping. || The Oracle told them that they should procure a three-eyed Commander to be the Pilot of the Expedition. While the Generals were thinking what the Oracle could mean, they met *Oxylus* leading a Mule that was blind of one Eye. This *Cresphontes* acutely conjectured to be the Person pointed to by the Oracle; and they accordingly chose him Commander of the Fleet. He was at that Time in Exile for the Murder

* *Diodor. Sic. Lib. IV. cap. 4.*

† *Pausan. p. 723.*

‡ *Ibid.*

|| *Pausan. Eliac.*

Murder of a Man by Accident, but upon this Contingency, the *Heraclidæ* promised to secure to him and his Family, the Kingdom of *Elis*. But it is further related, concerning *Oxylus*, that he knowing the Fertility of *Elis*, and fearing that the Sons of *Aristodemus*, upon observing that, would have broke their Word, he led them towards *Sparta*, not thro' *Elis*, but about by the Borders of *Arcadia*. He had *Praxonidas*, and *Praxonidas* had that famous Son *Iphitus*, who restored and established the *Olympic Games*, in the third Generation inclusive, after the Return of the *Heraclidæ*.

S E C T. II.

On the Greek History and Chronology from the Settlement of the Heraclidæ in the Peloponnesus, to the End of the Messenian War.

I HAVE now waded thro' the Perplexities and Darknes of the *Greek History*, in its obscurest Period; which themselves owned to be partly an *bidden*, but at least the *Mythic Age*. I come now to consider those Ages, concerning which they thought themselves more clear; which was therefore called the *Historic Age*, after the Return of the *Herculean Family*.

'Tis not without some Amazement, that we find here so clear Proofs of one Family, with no great Territories of their own, but rather a Sort of Refugees in the different Countries of *Greece*; dispossessing ancient People, who had long possessed those Lands; and so easily overturning Established Monarchies, and expelling their Hereditary Princes.

Hercules himself was, indeed, one of the greatest Men of his Age; and descended from the Great *Perseus*, who obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*, when the Male-House of *Inachus* failed there. But, as *Alcæus* was not the eldest Son of *Perseus*, he going abroad upon Adventures, according to the Manners of that Age, married in *Thebes*.

His *Theban* Descent was thus:

— *Menæceus*, a great Man in *Thebes*.
 $\text{Alcæus} + \text{Hipponome} = \text{Jocasta} + \text{Laius} = \text{Creon}$, Tutor to the Sons of *Oedipus*.
 $\text{Amphytrion} + \text{Alcmena}$.
Hercules.

Menæceus, having these three Children, *Hipponome* = *Jocasta* = *Creon*. *Alcæus* seems to have fixed with his Wife's Family, and to have been no very undertaking Person. But his Son *Amphytrion* was a Great Man, and is always

always called a *Theban*. However, as he was not Heir to the Crown of *Bæotia*, and *Creon* his Uncle, being Regent of *Thebes*, under the Minority of *Oedipus's* Sons, who were equally related to him; he had no Pretensions there, nor would raise Disturbance under his Uncle's Government. But he withdrew to *Argos*, and perhaps settled there for some Time; till at last, his whole Family were expelled by *Erystheus*. *Hercules's* House could therefore have no great Possessions or Territories in *Greece*. Yet, as his Posterity was very numerous, so there were not, probably, many of them at *Troy*. While many States lost their Chiefs, and wasted their National Forces in that pernicious War; or were broke or enfeebled by a thousand domestic Troubles on their Return. The House of *Hercules* grew in Numbers, and kept united in a Family Confederacy, whereby they were strong enough for those great Undertakings which at last terminated in their Settlement. But, by the Bye, I may here note, that the oldest or most powerful Branch's aiming at the Throne of *SPARTA*, is a further Proof of what I have already said, that the *Herculean* Family reckoned their Descent from *LELEX* by *EURYDICE*, on which Foundation they built their Claim to the *Spartan* Territories. For *Acrisius*, or *Danaus*, had no Pretensions to that Kingdom by any Descent.

I must remark, in the Beginning of this Enquiry, into the ensuing Successions of the *Spartan* Monarchs, that my main Design is to clear their Chronology to *LEONIDAS*, rather than to revise their History, further than may be subservient to that main End. Their History is now buried in such long Oblivion, that scarce any modern Writer revieweth it, or minds its Connection with later Revolutions. The Destruction of the Liberties of *Greece* by *Philip* and *Alexander*, or that of the *Romans* by *Cæsar*, or the Overthrow of the *Roman* Power by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, are all Events yet preserved in Memory. But who now mentions the equally noble Struggles of the brave *Messenians*, for retaining their Liberties and their native Country, against the Attempts of the *Spartans*, which Avarice and Ambition inspired?

The *Spartan* Race of Kings of the *Herculean* Family reigned in two parallel Successions, each King having near equal Power over the Kingdom, till one Line failed. It begun with the two Twin-Sons of *Aristodemus*.

1. *Eurysthenes*—*Procles*. These two were the Heads of two Lines, who successively reigned in an equal Power, and were joined in equal Authority thro' the whole parallel Succession.

There is nothing memorable in these first Reigns, but that the Royal Twin-Brothers married Twin-Sisters of another Branch of the House of *Hercules*, that of *Ctesippus*; which keeps the clear Synchronism of the Family a Generation further.

Theras led a Colony to *Thera*, which was the first, after the Return of the *Heracidae*.* The *Ionic* Migration was the second, composed of *Ionians*, *Achæans*, and some *Athenians*. This Colony was led out by *Neleus* Son of *Co-drus* the last *Athenian* King. He was Son of *Melanthus*, of the *Messenian* Royal Family.† But, as this is reckoned about 60 Years after their Return, and as it was led out to the Continent of *Asia* by *Neleus*, Grandson of *Melanthus*, it must probably have happened in some later *Spartan* Reign.

The *Æolic* Migration was the third Colony from *Greece* to *Asia*, after these Troubles and Revolutions in *Greece*. It was led by *Grais*, Great Grandson of *Orestes* in this Line of Descent.

Orestes—*Pentbylus*—*Echelatus*—*Grais*.

2. *Agis* = *Sous*. In these Reigns, the former Colonies might probably be transported in *Asia*.
3. *Echestratus* = *Euripon*. Nothing great in these Joint-Reigns, except a War with the *Cyrni*. *Euripon* was so great a Man, that his Line was called *Euripontidae*.
4. *Labotas* = *Prytanes*. In these Reigns Dissentions begun betwixt *Spartans* and *Argives*. The *Cyrni* conquered.
5. *Dorissus* = *Eunomus*.
6. *Agefilaus* = *Polydectes*. This Prince was slain before his Son *Charilaus* was born, and he left the Crown to *Lycurgus* his Brother. Who when *Polydectes*'s Queen was delivered, gave it up to *Charilaus*, and himself became his Tutor. *Lycurgus*, soon after, while the Infant-King was growing, went to *Crete* and *Asia* to collect Laws. He brought back with him the *Poems* of *Homer*, and published his Laws in the Reign of *Agefilaus*. And probably in his Nephew's Minority.‡
7. *Archelaus* = *Charilaus*. *Archelaus* wasted *Argia* with Fire and Sword. Some Years after he invaded *Tegea*, but died without effecting the Conquest.
8. *Teleclus* = *Nicander*. Many Incurfions made on the *Argives*. *Teleclus* himself was slain by the *Messenians* at *Diana's* Temple at *Lymnæ*. Some say he introduced into the Temple, a Number of young Men habited like Virgins, with Poniards concealed under their Robes, to destroy the Principal Men of *Messenia* at some sacred Solemnity; but himself, and all those disguised Youths perished in the Attempt. || But the *Spartans* say, that *Teleclus* went to revenge a Rape of some *Spartan* Virgins, which had gone to that Temple for Devotion, and fell there.
9. *Alcamen* = *Theopompus*. The *Messenian* War betwixt them and the *Lacedæmonians* begun in these Joint-Reigns. Our Author, *Pausanias*, gives a pretty distinct Account of it. The *Messenians* continued under the Government of *Nestor's* Posterity after the *Trojan* War, till the *Dorians*, under the Princes of the *Herculean* Family, invaded *Peloponnesus*.

* *Pausan.* p. 524. † *Ibid.* p. 525. ‡ *Newt. Chron. Greek.* p. 59, 60. || *Pausan.* p. 288.

ponnesus. *Cresphontes* Son of *Aristomachus* having married the Daughter of *Cypselus* King of *Arcadia*, his Posterity hereby ascended the *Arcadian* Throne. But *Cresphontes* himself settled in *Messenia*, upon the Expulsion of the Royal Line of *Neleus*; who, with *Melanthus*, went to *Athens*. *Melanthus* accepted a Challenge of *Xanthus* the *Bæotian*, which *Thymætes* the *Athenian* King declining, *Melanthus* succeeded to the Kingdom of *Athens*. But, as the *Messenians*, with most of the other States of *Greece*, were then inclining nearer to a Republican Form of Government; *Xanthus* being the last King of *Thebes*, and *Melanthus's* Son *Codrus* the last *Athenian* King.

So 1. *Cresphontes* observing this Proclivity among the *Messenians*, courted the People, to a Degree that disgusted the Nobles. Upon which they formed a Conspiracy against him, and cut him off, with all his Family, except his youngest Son *Æpytus*, then a Child, at his maternal Grandfather's Court in *Arcadia*. When he was at Age, the *Arcadians* re-established him in *Messenia*.

2. *Æpytus* first revenged his Father's and Brother's Death. And then carried it with such a vigilant Equality towards both the Nobles and *Plebeians*; softening the People by Liberality, and the Nobles by prudent Condescensions, that he became a very popular Prince, and so considerable as to have the Royal Family called *Æpytidæ* after himself to the End of the Monarchy.

3. *Glaucus* his Son succeeded him, and equalled his Father in all the popular Virtues, which endeared him to all Orders of the State. And he excelled him in what was then called Piety to the Gods. Appointing solemn *Sacra* to many ancient *Messenian* Heroes, which had not been worshipped before.*

4. *Isthmius*;) his Son continued the same Course of Devotion, according to the superstitious Usages of that Age.

5. *Dotadas*;) his Son fortified the Sea-Port called *Mothonæ*.

6. *Sybotas*] succeeded, and ordained Anniversary *Sacra* to the Great Goddesses, at the River *Pamifus*.

7. *Phintas*.] In his Reign the *Messenians* first sent a Choir of Men to perform some Musical *Sacra* to *Apollo* at *Delos*. *Eumalus* composed the Song which they called *Προσῳδία*. In this Reign the Seeds of those fatal Discords were sown betwixt them and the *Spartans*, the Causes of which are differently represented by each People.

8. *Antiochus* = *Androcles*, the Sons of *Phintas*, were in the Government of *Messenia*, when *Alcamenes* and *Theopompus* were Joint-Kings of *Sparta*. The Animosities betwixt them had been kindling and growing, ever since the Attempt of *Teleclus* King of *Sparta*, at *Diana's* Temple. But, as the *Spartan's* required no Compensation for the Loss of their King, this seems to

* *Pausan. Messenic. cap. 3.*

intimate that they were conscious that Scheme was a public Act, and that they were the Aggressors.

There were private Injuries mutually complained of, which might have been easily redressed, had they been in pacific Dispositions. But *Messenia*, being the more fertile Country, the *Lacedaemonians* formed avaricious Designs to annex that Territory to their own. Tho' they made a Handle of some private Injuries to justify their Avarice and Ambition.

Polychares, a noble *Messenian*, and who had been Victor in the fourth Olympiad, in the Olympic Games, being rich in Cattle, had sent some to be pastured with a *Spartan*, one *Euæphnus*. He, being a faithless Man, sold the Cattle, and the Herdsmen too, to some Merchants, and then went and told *Polychares*, that a Gang of Robbers had stript his Grounds. When *Polychares* attended without Resentment or Suspicion to the Story, one of his own Herdsmen, who had made his Escape from those to whom he was sold, happened to come in, and related the whole Story of *Euæphnus*'s Perfidiousness to his Face, before his own Master; who, not being able to deny, fell to Importunity and Entreaty; and punctually promised that he would pay all Damages, provided *Polychares* would send his Son along with him to *Sparta* to receive it, which he consented to. But, upon his Arrival at *Sparta*, instead of paying according to Contract, he barbarously murdered him. *Polychares*, upon Intelligence of this flagrant Villainy, hastened to *Sparta*, and in all the Anguish of Paternal Grief, desired the Murderer to be given up to Justice; which being denied, he broke into some Violences of Resentment natural to so brave a Man on so provoking an Occasion, and regardless of his own Danger, took Revenge on any *Spartans*, he could meet with, and made his Escape home.

The *Spartans* required him to be delivered into their Hands, but the Kings of *Messenia*, convening the Assembly, they fell into different Opinions about the Justice or Expediency of complying with the *Spartan* Demand. It at last came to Blows, and *Androcles*, with several of his Party who were for giving up *Polychares*, were slain.

Antiochus being now in sole Power, sent Letters to *Sparta*, that he would willingly refer it to the *Argives*, akin to both Nations; or to the *Amphyëtronic* Council, or *Areopagite* Court at *Athens*. He also pleaded, as *Pausanias* says, the *Spartans* having been bought by *Cræsus* into Confederacies with the *Barbarians* against the *Greeks*.

But the *Spartans* gave no Answer to his Letters. They were so bent on War, and so ambitious to enlarge their Territory, that without giving any public Intimations of their Design, they carried on clandestine Preparations as secretly as they could for the intended War.

9. EUPHAES.] A few Months after the Embassy to *Sparta*, *Antiochus* died, and his Son EUPHAES succeeded him. But the *Spartans* fully intending this avaricious War, bound themselves by an Oath, never to leave it off, if

if it was protracted ever so long, till they had added *Messenia* to their own Dominion.

Accordingly, without any Declaration of War, the *Spartans* came suddenly in a Night-Attack upon *Amphæa*, a *Messenian* Town, built on a Rock, and abounding with Water. *Alcamenes*, Son of *Telechus*, commanded in the Enterprize. They took the Town by Surprize, and slew all the Inhabitants, even those who fled to the Temples and Altars. This Place they thought would be a most convenient Station, from which to pour down the whole Fury of the War. This was, according to *Pausanias's* Reckoning, in the ninth Olympiad.*

Euphaes, upon Notice of this perfidious Attempt, (the Success of which he was informed of by some who escaped) convenes the Body of the Nation at *Stenochyrum*, the Capital. And he and the Nobles encouraging the People, he begins an exact Discipline, and exercises all the People for War. The *Spartans* made many Incursions, but they cut down no Wood, nor burnt any Towns, as they looked upon all the Country as already their own. They only carried off Corn and Cattle, and other moveable Plunder, to impoverish the People; not to destroy the Country. They attempted some Sieges; but, finding such a hot Reception, they left that off, without taking any fortified Places.

About four Months after the surprising of *Amphæa*, the brave EUPHAES, confiding in the Alacrity and Resolution of his Troops, marched into the Field to seek the Enemy; and encamped in a Plain, which was divided by a deep Trench or Channel, on the Borders of which he posted his Men. *Cleonnis* commanded the heavy armed Foot; *Pythoratus* and *Antander*, two Bodies of the light-armed. The Battle was fierce and dubious till Night came on; when *Euphaes* commanded his Troops to entrench, and raise proper Banks to guard both his Rear and Flanks, having the great Trench in Front. The next Day, when the *Lacedæmonians* found they could not attack him, and were not prepared to besiege him in his fortified Camp, they withdrew, and retired into *Sparta*. And thus this Year ended.

The next Year, the older Men of *Sparta*, reproaching their young Men with Want of Spirit and Courage; the next Expedition was openly undertaken against the *Messenians*. *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, the two Kings of *Sparta* (*Alcamenes* himself being then dead) commanded the Army. *Theopompus* led the Right-Wing, *Polydorus* the Left, and *Euryleon* the main Body of the *Spartan* Army. He was the fifth Descendant from *Oiolytus*, the Son of *Theras*, of the *Cadmean* Family; who was Tutor to *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, the two first Kings of *Sparta* of the *Herculean* Line. — In the Action, EUPHAES and *Antander* led the Left-Wing against *Theopompus* in the Right of the *Spartans*. *Pytharatus* commanded against *Polydorus*, and *Cleonnis* in the Centre, against *Euryleon*. The *Spartans* were superior in Number, as well

* *Pausan. Messen. cap. 5.*

well as military Experience ; but the desperate Bravery of a noble People, unjustly invaded, and fighting for their Liberty and their All, vigorously sustained all the Efforts of superior Numbers and superior military Skill. *Theopompus*, animated by Ambition, and the Hopes of adding so rich a Territory to his own, pushed with unspeakable Impetuosity upon *Euphaes*, but *Euphaes*, animated with the Love of Liberty, and exasperated with Injuries, sustained the Shock with incredible Firmness, and his natural Bravery almost converted into Fury, urged him with his chosen Band, to such a rapid Impetuosity upon *Theopompus*, that he bravely repulsed that resolute and skilful Commander, and put his whole Wing to Flight. But *Pytharatus* falling, the Loss of their General put that Wing into Disorder and Flight on the other Hand. However, *Polydorus* did not pursue that Wing in its Retreat ; nor *EUPHAES* the other ; nor did he attack *Polydorus*, but hastened to help his Friends. Night coming on, *Cleonnis* and *Euryleon*, who commanded in the Centre, parted without any Advantages on either Side. This great Action was chiefly managed by the heavy-armed Foot. The Horse were few, and did not perform much ; for the *Peloponnesians* had not yet arrived at much Skill in Riding. This Action was not decisive ; yet the *Messenians* being reduced to Want of Necessaries, by the Havock, which the Plundering Parties of the *Spartans* had made ;—they at last resolved to desert most of the inland Places, and withdraw to the more maritime Parts. And they fixed their Head Quarters at *Ithome*, situated on an high Mountain, which was every Way of difficult Access, and well fortified by Nature. Here they lay pretty secure ; and sent to *Delphos* to enquire of the Oracle in that Exigence of their Affairs, concerning the Event of the War. They had this Answer : “ That a Virgin, of “ the Royal Blood of the *Æpytidæ*, should be sacrificed and willingly devoted.” The Virgins were immediately gathered together, and the Lots being cast, the Lot fell on the Daughter of *Lyciscus*. But the Diviner refused her, alledging that *Lyciscus*’s Wife being long barren, she had substituted this Child, pretending it to be her own. Then *Aristodemus*, a Person of greatest Note among the Royal Family, next to the reigning House, offered his own Virgin-Daughter as a Victim for his Country. But her Lover, when he found no Perswasions could save her, boldly charged her with being debauched and with Child by himself. This so enraged the generous *Aristodemus*, that he killed the Virgin, and opening her Body, shewed to the whole Assembly her Womb, that they might be convinced she was not with Child. Upon which this Sacrifice was allowed as sufficient.

What a horrid Religion was the prevailing Paganism of *Greece* at that Time ? And how detestible is the Avarice and Ambition of Conquerors, whose successful Villainies put tender Parents on such execrable, unnatural Acts, in order to save their Country from such bloody Destroyers ?

When the *Spartans* heard of this Oracle, and this great, self-denying Compliance with it, they were greatly disheartened, and tho’ they were under the

the Obligation of their mad Oath, yet they went on very slowly in the War, for several Years.

However, in the eighth Year after this Oracle, they led their Army against *Ithome*. And, tho' the *Messenian* Allies were at that Time most of them absent, yet they, confiding in the Oracle, ventured to stand the Engagement, rather too rashly. For, at this Time many neighbouring States, such as the *Argives*, *Arcadians* and others, grew jealous of the increasing Power of *Sparta*; and became Auxiliaries to the *Messenians*. The *Spartans* however obtained no Victory. This was not so close and regular an Action as the former. For every brave Man went out of his Ranks to attack his Enemy; and surprising Instances of Personal Bravery were exhibited on both Sides. But the most fatal Stroke to the *Messenians*, was the Loss of their King. For the Great *EUPHAES*, pressing further on the Troops of *Theopompus* than was prudent for a General, in the too great Heat of his Bravery, was mortally wounded, and fell. This kindled the Battle with new Fury, about the dying Prince, and the *Messenians*, resolving not to survive their beloved Monarch, fought with such incredible Vigour, that they got him back to their Camp, where he was something revived by seeing that his People had made so brave a Retreat. He died some Days after in the 13th Year of his Reign, wholly spent in War with the *Spartans*. *Antander* fell with him in that desperate Action.

10. *ARISTODEMUS*, who devoted his Daughter, by the Votes of the People, carried the Election against *Cleonnis* and *Damis*. When he was on the Throne, he behaved with particular Honour and Respect to those two Great Men, his Rivals, and kept all quiet at Home; and courted all the neighbouring States. But the War was carried on only in Parties, for Ravages and Incurfions on both Sides. But, in the 5th Year of his Reign, all Parties being weary of, and exhausted with, so long a War, he resolved on one Engagement more, to make one noble Effort for the delivering his oppressed Country, from those unrighteous Invaders. All the neighbouring States were ready to join him with their auxiliary Forces, in a set Battle. The *Arcadians*, *Argives* and *Sicyonians* were in the Confederacy with the *Messenians*, and the *Corinthians* joined the *Spartans*. The *Spartans* made their Phalanx as strong as ever they had done before. The King gave the best Armour to the *Arcadians* and *Messenians*, as being the strongest Men and best Soldiers, mixing the *Argives* and *Sicyonians* with them. He made the main Battle very long, that he might not be surrounded, and he had Mount *Ithome* in his Rear. *Cleonnis* had the Command of the heavy-armed, and the light-armed were ready for wheeling about, and for annoying the *Spartans* every where, under the Conduct of *Damis*. On the whole, the Battle was very long and obstinate, and the regular Troops of the *Spartans* were so fatigued by these Parties of the light-armed, who with such Activity every where incommoded them; that at last they were defeated and fled, and a great

great Number of them were slain in the Pursuit, as well as before, in the Action.

The *Spartans* were greatly cast down, especially apprehending the Hopes of their promised Conquest to be now almost vanished. In this unpromising Situation of their Affairs, they send to the Oracle, where they received this Advice, to use *Craft* as well as *Force*. The *Messenians* also sending to *Delphos*, received this Answer, *namely*, That whoever should first dedicate 100 Tripods to *Jupiter Ithometes*, should gain *Messenia*. Upon which a *Spartan* of obscure Rank procured 100 of Clay, and carried them in a Bag; and coming into *Ithome* as an Hunter, with his Nets, &c. got the Opportunity of dedicating his Tripods of Clay the first.

This Event greatly dispirited the *Messenians*, and animated the *Spartans*. About this Time, many Prodigies were observed; the King was discouraged by Visions and Dreams; the Sacrifices had ominous Appearances; which so sunk his Spirits, that, when he saw that, tho' he had voluntarily devoted his guiltless Virgin-Daughter, yet could not save his dear Country; he went and killed himself on his Daughter's Tomb, after he reigned something above six Years.

The Death of their King so struck the *Messenians*, that they almost ran into Despair; and were even thinking of sending Messengers to *Sparta* to beg Peace; but their insuperable Resentment restrained them. Upon the whole, in an Assembly of the People, they chose no King, but made *Damis* General, who chose for the next Command under him *Cleonnis* and *Phyleas*.

But, after they had endured a Siege of five Months, and had lost most of their best Officers and Citizens; and the Famine begun to rage within the City, they all quitted *Ithome*. This was in the 20th Year of the War, as *Pausanias* reckons, in the first Year of *Olympiad* 24.* Some retired to *Argos*, some to *Arcadia*; and those of the sacred Families retired to *Eleupne*; where they were concerned in initiating into the Mysteries of the great Goddesses.

The *Lacedæmonians* razed *Ithome* to the Ground, and the rest of the *Messenians*, who stayed in the Country, they laid under a Tribute, to pay annually Half the Produce of the Ground to *Sparta*.

S E C T. II.

From the Second Messenian War to LEONIDAS.

10. *P*olydorus = *Archidamas*.] *Polydorus* the Son of *Alcamenes*, who died in the Beginning of the *Messenian* War, being joined with *Theopompus* in the Management of it, they both lived to see the Conquest of the *Messenians*. But it was chiefly conducted by *Theopompus*, the Son of *Nicander*.
After

* *Pausan.* Lib. V. cap. 14.

After this War, a great Controversy arose with the *Argives* about the Boundaries of *Thyreatae*; but, thro' Age and Infirmities, he was not in the Action. *Polydorus* outlived *Theopompus*. He was a Prince of incomparable Virtues, who so tempered Justice with consummate Benevolence, that he was universally honoured at *Sparta*. However, he was afterwards assassinated by *Palemarchus*, a *Spartan* Nobleman, on an Occasion not mentioned in History.

11. *Euricrates*, the Son of *Polydorus* succeeded him. During this Reign, the *Messenians* bore the *Spartan* Dominion pretty quietly. *Theopompus* outlived his own Son *Archidamas*. But as he is said to have left a Son *Zeuxidamas*, I shall set them down in the Line of successive Generations parallel to the successive Princes of the other Royal House, thus:

12. *Euricrates* = *Zeuxidamas*. In these Reigns, the *Messenians* quiet.

13. *Anaxander* = *Anaxidamas*. In these Reigns of the *Spartan* Kings, the *Messenians* rekindled a new War. For, perceiving that the *Spartan* Yoke was never like to be easier, some young Noblemen, of high Spirit and exalted Love of Liberty, tho' entirely unskilled in War, animated each other to great Attempts. They thought it nobler to die in the Field, in order to regain Liberty, than bear the mildest or most plentiful Slavery. By these brave Sentiments they fired each other. Among the Principal was *ARISTOMENES* Son of *Nicomedes*. They sent trusty Messengers from this little Combination of their noble Youth, to the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, to sound their Inclinations; and, as they were now in open Hostilities with *Sparta*, the Messengers found them more forward to join them, than their own Hopes promised.

The *Messenians* revolted in the 39th Year after the taking *Ithome*, when annual Archons were begun in *Athens*. And this glorious, half-disciplined Youth marched at the Head of their Countrymen into the Field; and tho' at that Action they had none of their Confederates who had joined them, yet they bravely engaged the Veteran *Spartan* Troops, and there was near an Equality of Success in this first Battle, which was fought in the first Year of the Revolt. *Aristomenes* performed such Wonders in this Action, that he was saluted King, as soon as it was over; for he was of the Royal Family of the *Apytidae*. But he refused the Crown, and would only accept the Generalship.

The second Battle was fought at a Place called *Aprus's Monument*. Here both Parties had their Allies, the *Elians*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians* and *Arcadians* joined the *Messenians*, and the *Spartans* had the *Corinthians* and some others with them. *Anaxander*, King of *Sparta*, commanded the *Lacedæmonian* Army; and *ARISTOMENES* their General commanded the *Messenians*. *Phintas* and *Androcles*, the Grandsons of that *Androcles*, who was slain in the Tumult about *Polychares*, and who had lived at *Sparta*, joined their Countrymen, and behaved with the greatest Bravery. *Aristomenes* had a chosen Band of 80 young Noblemen, which were near his Person, when he opposed himself to the very Flower of the *Spartan* Troops with the King himself at their Head; and, with infinite Bravery, obtained a com-

pleat Victory; and, with his chosen Guard, beat the very Flower of the Army, and put them to Flight.

After this great Defeat, the *Spartans* were for giving up the War, but that *Tyrtæus*, the *Athenian* Poet, who was sent from *Athens* by the Advice of the Oracle, dissuaded them.

The third Battle was fought near a Place called *the Great Foss*. The *Arcadians* were the chief Auxiliaries in this Battle. But a little before the Engagement, the *Spartans* had CORRUPTED *Aristocrates* Son of *Hicetas*, King of *Arcadia*, with Money, to betray his Allies; for he commanded the *Arcadian* Troops in this Expedition. *Pausanias* observes here, that the *Spartans* were the *first*, that are mentioned in all Antiquity, who corrupted their Enemies with Money, and made the Event of War venal. For, before their seducing *Aristocrates* to betray the *Messenians*, the Events of War depended on Courage, Bravery, Fortune, and the Blessing of the Gods.

When the Battle begun, *Aristocrates*, who had before dispirited his Troops, with pretended Omens, and unfriendly Appearances of the Sacrifices; ordered them, at a Sign by him given, to retreat for their own Safety: Which they did accordingly, leaving one Wing and the main Body open and exposed. And, to compleat the Perfidy, the *Arcadians* fled thro' the *Messenian* Army, and broke all their Ranks. The *Spartans* took this Advantage, and cut most of the Army to Pieces. *Phintas* and *Androcles*, Grandsons of that *Androcles*, who was slain in the Tumult at the Beginning of the War, fell in this decisive Action, after the noblest Proofs of Bravery.

Aristomenes gathered the Remnant of his Army, and deserting *Andania*, and all the inland Towns, betook himself to Mount *Iras*, where he sustained a Siege of eleven Years; tho' the Enemy thought they could have taken it almost at the first Attack. The Sea Coast was open to them by Means of the *Pyleans* and *Mothoneans*. And they took other Necessaries from all about them by Incursions. The *Spartans*, finding this Inconvenience from their incomparable Vigilance, Activity and Valour, they forbid the sowing any Ground near Mount *Iras*, to deprive them of any Provisions. But *ARISTOMENES*, with 300 chosen Men from *Iras*, made an Excursion to *Amyclæ*, and in a Night-attack took it, and carried off great Plunder. This Course he never left off, till at last, in a Party far greater than his own, with both the Kings of *Sparta* at the Head of it, he was taken, being knocked down with a Stone. He and fifty of his Fellow-Soldiers were conducted to the Mouth of a horrid Cavern, near *Sparta*, where commonly the greatest Malefactors were executed, by being thrown into it. There they were all thrown in. All the rest immediately perished; but some Divine Power certainly preserved him. He wrapped himself in his Robe, and there composed himself to wait for *Death*. But, after three Days, living in this Expectation, he heard a Noise, which proved to be that of a Fox, which was coming to the dead Bodies. Thinking that there must be some underground Passage to this Cavern,

Cavern, he caught hold of the Fox's Leg with one Hand, and covered it with his Robe with the other, to prevent the Beast's biting him much. It made towards the Entrance, and he followed it as well as he could, and found some Glimmering of Light at the Hole by which the Fox had crept in. He then readily let it go, and it crept thro' it, which was but big enough for its Body to pass. He whose Fortitude was superior to all Distress, with his Hands wrought a Passage large enough for himself to creep thro', and got back to his People at *Iras*. When it was told that *Aristomenes* was escaped, the *Spartans* laughed at it. But the Event soon convinced them. For the *Corinthians* sending some Auxiliaries to the Siege of *Iras*; and he, by his Spies, being informed that they marched and encamped carelessly, he broke into their Camp by Night, slew four of their chief Generals, made a great Slaughter of the Men, and rifled the Camp. On which the *Spartans* owned that he must be alive again; for there was not a Man in *Greece* durst have attempted such a Thing besides himself.

However, he was again taken by Treachery. For the *Spartans* at the *Hyacinthine* Games, proclaimed a Truce of forty Days, which the *Cretan* Archers who were Mercenaries broke. Seven of them seized him in the Time of the Truce, and bound him with their Belts, &c. two of them went with the News to *Sparta*, the other five brought their illustrious Captive into a *Messenian* Cottage, where a Widow and her Virgin-Daughter lived together. The Virgin dreamed the Night before, that some Wolves brought in a Lion without his Talons; that she lay with the Lion as with a Man, and gave him his Talons again. When they brought him in, she thought this must reach her Dream. She made the *Cretans* drunk, and when they were asleep, she took one of their Daggers, with which she cut his Bands, and then he slew them all. He offered her his Son *Gorgus* then eighteen, in Marriage in Gratitude, and Admiration of this daring Action.

In the eleventh Year of the Siege *Iras* was taken. All the Oracles conspiring to discourage the great *ARISTOMENES*, and the Diviner *Theoclus*, which however they concealed from the People. The Town was taken by this Means: A *Spartan* Herdsman belonging to one of the Generals, keeping his Herd by the River, fell in Love with a *Messenian* Woman, as she came to draw Water at the River. He debauched her; and as her Husband was on the Guard frequently, those Nights he used to be with her. One Night the Violence of the Rains drove off the Guards, and the brave and injured *Messenian* coming unexpectedly to his own House, the Adulterer got into some obscure Concealment. When the perfidious Wife with peculiar Tenderness enquired the Reason of his coming Home; he told her that all the Guards had left the Walls that tempestuous, dark Night. The concealed Villain hearing this, he found some Way out, and got to his Master in the Camp; who tho' the Kings were not there at that Time, yet he took the Hint, and so got into the Town. The Alarm soon raised all, *Aristomenes*,

his Son *Gorgus*, *Theoclus* the Diviner, his Son *Mantichus*, and *Energetidas*, who married the Sister of *Aristomenes*.

They animated the People, by every Argument that Love of Liberty could inspire, particularly with the Example of the *Smyrnaeans*, who drove *Gyges*, the Son of *Duschyus*, out of their City with his great Army of *Lydians*. All the *Messenians* as one Man, and all their *Women* fought incredibly. The *Women* not only animating the Men, but fighting along with them.

But the *Spartans*, having great Numbers of Men, had Time to relieve each other with fresh Troops, while the *Messenians* were three Days and Nights under Arms, almost perished with Rain, Frost, Hunger and Thirst. At last, *Theoclus* the Diviner, who presided over the *Sacra*, cried out, "We contend with Fate no longer. Do you, *Aristomenes*, save the Reliques of our Nation, I will perish here." And so pressing on the Enemy, he said, You shall not greatly rejoice in our Ruin; and after having made a very great Slaughter, in these last Efforts of Despair, he fell down dead in the Midst of his Enemies.

Aristomenes, leaving the bravest chosen Men engaged, he ordered the rest to get their *Women* and Children into the Midst of their Ranks, and follow him. *Gorgus* and *Mantichus* commanded in the Rear, *Aristomenes* himself in the Front, shaking his Head and Spear, led on against the opposing Troops of *Sparta*. But their Generals thought it best to open the Way, and let him pass, with the retiring Reliques of a brave, ruined Nation, which had fallen a Sacrifice to accursed Avarice and Ambition.

When the *Arcadians* heard that *Iras* was taken, they demanded of their King to lead them out, but he urged that there were now no *Messenians* to help. However, *Aristomenes* reached Mount *Lycaeus*, when the *Arcadians* got Notice of it, they hastened thither, and brought them every Supply they could, Food, Cloaths, and whatever they had.* They most tenderly invited them to accept of all the Privileges of Hospitality among them, and offered them to incorporate among them as one People.

But *Aristomenes*, when they were quiet at Mount *Lycaeus*, still melting with Commiseration of his dear, ruined Country, and inflamed with Resentment of the Avarice and Cruelty of the *Spartans*, chose out of all his Troops 500 Men, who least feared Death, or desired Life, to accompany him in an Attempt on *Sparta* itself, alledging that the Army was so busy in the Plunder of *Iras*, that they should find *Sparta* more exposed. He, whose unexhausted Spirits never tired in great Undertakings, mentioned the daring Project among his faithful *Arcadian* Allies; and not yet having any Suspicion of the bribed Traitor, spoke of it in the King's Presence, he engaged 300 of the most resolute *Arcadians* in this bold Design. But, while some Time was necessarily to be spent in religious Rites, the Traitor sends Notice of it to the *Spartans*. But some *Arcadian* Spies seizing the Messenger on his Return, found *Anaxandrus's*

* *Pausan.* Lib. IV. cap. 22.

drus's Letter, in which were contained his Thanks for the Retreat at the Battle of *the Great Foss*, as well as for this Intelligence. This Letter was read in a full Assembly of *Arcadians*, upon which his exasperated Subjects immediately fell to stoning him, and desired the *Messenians* to join them; but they looking at their brave General for Direction, the great *ARISTOMENES* only bowed down and wept. The *Arcadians* stoned him to Death, and left his Corps unburied without the Camp.

The Colony consisting of the *Pylii*, *Mothonæi*, and other maritime Places, with all that they could collect together, went by Ship to *Cyllene*, an *Elia* Port, in order to consult where to fix. *Gorgus* and *Mantichus* were the Leaders, for *Aristomenes* declined to go. *Energetides* coming to *Lycaum* with his own fifty Men, added to them, as many as would accompany him, and led them back to *Iras*, who fell on the *Spartans* as they were pillaging, and having filled himself with Slaughter, fell on the Heaps of his Enemies.

When those, who conducted the *Messenian* Colony, were debating about the Place of their Settlement, *Gorgus* the Son of *Aristomenes* was for having them settle in *Zacynthus*, from which they might annoy the *Spartans* afterwards. But *Mantichus* was of Opinion, that they should think no more of *Messenia* or *Sparta*, but go directly to *Sardinia*, a large Island, where they would find Plenty of all Things. At this Time *Anaxilas*, the fourth in Descent from *Alcidamas*, who had settled at *Rhegium* after the taking of *Ithome*, sent to invite them thither. Upon their coming to *Rhegium*, *Anaxilas* advised them to attempt the *Zancleans* in *Sicily*, who sprang from Pirates, and had fortified an Harbour. *Anaxilas* attacked them by Sea, and the *Messenians* conquered them at Land. *Anaxilas* was for slaying them at the very Altars, and saving only the Women, but *Gorgus* and *Mantichus* abhorred the Impiety. On which it came to a mutual Peace, and they lived quietly together, and incorporated into one People. Only the Town changed its Name from *Zancle* to *Messene*. And here the exiled *Messenians* found a quiet Retreat at last.

ARISTOMENES, after the Colony was gone, married his Sister, the Widow of *Energetides*, and two of his own Daughters to other great Men. And after this he went to *Delphos* on some Enquiry not known. When he was there, *Damagetus Rhodius*, King of *Jalyssus*, coming to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle about choosing a Wife, the *Pythian* bad him marry the Daughter of the best Man in Greece. This was easily determined to be *Aristomenes*. He himself carried her, being his third Daughter, to *Rhodes*. When he was deliberating to go from thence to *Sardis*, to *Ardyis* Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and then to *Ecbatane* to *Phraortes* King of the *Medes*, he was seized by some Distemper, and after surviving the Liberties of his Country, and all his prodigious Wars, died in his Bed.

Thus closed one of the finest Struggles for Liberty, that is in History, called by the Ancients the *Messenian War*. In which the lawless *Pride* of Power, animated.

animated by *Avarice* and the View of a better Territory, was opposed so long by the most Heroic Patriotism; in which the Love of Liberty, even to Enthusiasm, produced such astonishing Acts of incredible Bravery, as Ambition and natural Courage in *Slaves*, or *Tyrants*, never attained to.

14. *Euricratides* = *Archidamas*. The *Messenian War* being over, these Reigns were free from War.

15. *Leon* = *Agasicles*. In these Reigns the *Spartans* met with many Repulses from the *Tegeatae*.

16. *Anaxandrides* = *Ariston*. In these Joint-Reigns the *Spartans* had much better Success against the *Tegeatae*.

For the *Spartans*, being required by the Oracle to bring the Bones of *Orestes* to *Sparta*, they found them buried beneath a *Brasier's Shop*; and dug them up, to carry the sacred Remains to *Sparta*. *Anaxander* Son of *Leon* was the only Prince among the *Spartans*, who had two *Wives* at the same Time. One, tho' a Woman of the greatest Virtue and Honour, yet being barren, the *Ephori* commanded him to divorce; this he would not comply with; but he so far obeyed them, as to join another in Equality with her, that her Son might be considered as his Heir. And of her he had *Cleomenes* his First-born. Soon after he, by his beloved Queen, who had never had a Child before, had *Doricus*, and then *LEONIDAS* and *Cleombrotus*.

Cleomenes } *Demaratus*.

Leonidas } = *Leotychides* — *Ariston* rashly saying, that *Demaratus* was not his Son, upon being told that he was born in the seventh Month of his Queen's Marriage, proved the Ruin of his Son and his House. But *Demaratus* came to the Crown, and was a brave Man. He assisted his Colleague, *Cleomenes*, in suppressing the Sons of *Pisistratus*, the Tyrants of *Athens*. But, when *Cleomenes* afterwards repented, and would have restored them, *Demaratus* nobly opposed it. On this *Cleomenes* set up a Rival, on the Pretence of the Illegitimacy of his Birth, one *Leotychides* of the same *Herculean* Family. *Demaratus*, thus used, fled to *Persia*, and was with *Xerxes* in his Invasion of *Greece*, as a Companion, not an Ally.

Cleomenes dying without Male-Issue, the great *LEONIDAS*, his Brother by the same Father, *Anaxandridus*, succeeded him; who was himself one of the greatest Men of his Age, and nearly of the same Age with *Cleomenes*.

When *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, with one of the greatest Armies mentioned in History, invaded *Greece*; this Prince, the Great *LEONIDAS* encountered him at the famous Battle of *Thermopylae*. The *Spartans*, having consulted the Oracle at *Delphos*, received for Answer, that *Greece* must fall, unless a Prince of the Family of *Hercules* devoted himself to save his Country.* When this Oracle was declared to the Assembly of the People, in the Presence of both the Kings of *Sparta*, *Leonidas* nobly undertook the Service, which

* *Herod. Lib. VII. cap. 220.*

which he knew would be so fatal to himself, but which he believed would be the saving of the Liberties of Greece, and particularly of Sparta.

Xerxes, having marched thro' Greece a considerable Way, came near the famous Straits of *Thermopylae*, which as being almost an impracticable Pass, was defended with the Flower of the Grecian Army. But there was a perfidious *Trachinian*, who went to the Emperor of Persia, and offered to lead the Persian Army thro' some By-way of which they had no Suspicion; whereby he might come on the Back of the Greeks, and so surround those at *Thermopylae*. However, there was an honest Man in the Persian Army, who got from among the Centinels, and gave *Leonidas* Intelligence. Upon which there was a Council of War called at Midnight in the Grecian Camp. And being aware of their desperate Situation, the Great LEONIDAS heroically proposed that the rest of the Troops should withdraw, and save themselves for the further Defence of their Country; but that he, with his chosen Spartans, would stay and die there, and retard the Irruption of the Persians as long as there was a Man of them left. The Army, some reluctantly, and others willingly, withdrew in the Night; and *Leonidas* and his chosen Band, about 500 in all, as *Diodorus* says, were left. He ordered them all to sit down to Meat, whereby they would be longer able to sustain the Fatigues of that desperate Undertaking, which they might chearfully engage in, who were next Day to dine with the Gods. His Troop was composed of grown Men who were the Fathers of Children. They broke into the Persian Camp in the Night, and made incredible Execution; making directly to the Royal Pavillion, but *Xerxes* had withdrawn near the further Extremity of his Camp before. This daring Adventure threw the Persian Army into extreme Terror and Confusion, they fearing that their Party which they sent thro' the Mountains was cut off, and that the whole Grecian Army was in that Assault of the Camp. But, when Day-light discovered their Numbers, they despised them. But the Bravery of these great Men was inimitable, tho' fatal to themselves. These were the only Men, says *Diodorus Siculus*, who gained consummate Glory by being conquered.*

S E C T. III.

On the Persian Line reckoned from Ptolemy's Canon.

I HAVE now brought down the History of Greece from the Return of the Herculean Family into the Dominion of Peloponnesus, to the celebrated Synchronism of LEONIDAS and *Xerxes*, whereby we may clearly connect the sacred History and Chronology with that of the Greeks.

The

* *Diodor. Sic. Lib. IX. cap. 1.*

The Use I make of all these laborious Enquiries into the Genealogies of the Greek Families, particularly the *Spartans*, is hereby to shew that, in the Course of Succession, they could not well be supposed to be either more or less than they are represented by their Historians; * tho' it will appear, by comparing them with the *Jewish* History, that these Successions must have taken up a much less Space of Time, than is commonly computed by Chronologers ancient or modern; except the Great Father of Chronology, Sir *Isaac Newton*.—On which I make these Observations.

(1.) I conclude from what the *Pagan* Historians say, that it was the National Custom among the *Lacedæmonians* to have the Succession of their Kings by the eldest Sons, whenever they lived to the Death of the Father. This appears plainly by the Choice which they made of *Cleomenes* for their King, as the eldest Son: Tho' he was a Person of a shattered Brain, and greatly inferior to *Dorieus*, in all Qualities, for the Cabinet or the Field. He was the Son by the elder Queen, and born but a few Months after *Cleomenes*.†

(2.) Since an Interruption in the Line of Succession, by the Death of the oldest Son, is *sometimes* mentioned; we may reasonably conclude that it is *always* mentioned, when any such Interruption happened. The first Interruption in the Succession from Father to Son is that of *Polydectes*, who being slain before his Son *Charilaus* was born, he left the Kingdom to *Lycurgus* his Brother. But, as his Queen was with Child, as soon as she was delivered of her Son *Charilaus*, *Lycurgus* surrendered the Kingdom to him, and only acted as Guardian. And, while the young King was in the Hands of the Women, *Lycurgus* went abroad to collect the best Laws, which were afterwards so celebrated in *Sparta*, as to denominate him *the Spartan Legislator*. *Theopompus*, that King who managed the *Messenian* War, is also mentioned to have buried his eldest Son, who yet lived to have Children, one of which succeeded his Grandfather *Theopompus*.

(3.) It appears to have been the Custom of the *Spartan* Monarchs to have but one Wife at a time, contrary to the Manner of the *Asiatic* Princes. For *Anaxandrides*, Son of *Leon*, was the *first* among the *Spartan* Princes who had two;‡ and upon this Occasion, his Queen, a Princess of very good Character, having been long childless, the *Ephori* commanded him to put her away, and marry another. The King would not comply with the first Injunction, but he yielded to the other, and married another Wife. By her he had a Son, *Cleomenes*. But soon after, his *first* Queen had a Son, who proved a very brave Man. And she had afterwards the Great *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus*. Now, by this prevailing Regularity in the *Spartan* Kings, the Succession of Generations by the eldest Sons, would be far more easily carried on, without distracting Competitions, and be recorded without Confusion.

(4) Almost

* *Herod. Lib. VII. c. 204. Pausan. in Laconic. Messenic. &c.*

† *Pausan. Laconic. c. 3.*

‡ *Pausan. Laconic. p. 211.*

(4.) Almost every Reign in all this Succession, in both the parallel, contemporary Lines of their Kings, is marked by some considerable Action, either of War or Peace; or by their Birth or Death. So that there could not be fewer Kings than are named for doing such distinct Actions as are ascribed to them. Nor doth there seem any Room for more; since so many of the Successors are said to enter upon their Predecessor's Works or Wars, which they left unfinished.

(5.) Many of the neighbour Kingdoms have their Succession of Kings mentioned in parallel Generations with those of *Sparta*; as particularly those of *Messenia* and *Arcadia*. And not one of them are so long as this Lineal Succession of the *Spartan* Kings. So that it is very probable that those were almost as long a Descent as was possible in the Course of Nature where the Succession is counted by the Males.

To proceed now to the Examination of this Synchronism of *Leonidas* with *Xerxes*. He was the Son of *Darius Hystaspis*, the Successor of *Cambyses*, the Son and Successor of *Cyrus* = *Darius the Mede*. *Darius* was, according to *Daniel*, 62 Years old when he conquered *Babylon*, *Dan. v. 31*. *Cyrus* lived to above 70 Years old, according to *Cicero*; and reigned nine Years over *Babylon*, according to *Ptolemy's Canon*; tho' the Canon takes no Notice of *Darius's* Reign, as the Scriptures more correctly do.—The Kings of the *Medes* before *Cyrus* were *Deioces*, *Phraortes*, *Astyages*, *Cyaxares*, and *Darius*. The three first reigned before the Empire was Great; the two last were great Conquerors, and erected the Monarchy. *Æschylus*, who flourished in the Reigns of *Darius Hystaspis* and his Son *Xerxes*, and died in the 76th *Olympiad*, attributes the founding of the *Medo-Persian* Empire to the two immediate Predecessors of *Cyrus*. The first was a *Mede*, and the second was his Son.* The second was *Darius the Mede*, the Son of *Abasuerus*, mentioned by *Daniel*, and immediate Predecessor to *Cyrus*. Therefore the first was the Father of *Darius*, that is *Abasuerus* or *Cyaxares*, of the Seed of the *Medes*, as *Daniel* says, *Dan. ix. 1*. This is that *Abasuerus* King of the *Medes*, who, together with *Nebuchadnezzar*, took and destroyed *Nineveh*, *Tobit xiv. 15*. Which Action is by the *Greeks* ascribed to *Cyaxares*, and by *Eupolemus* † to *Astibares*, a Name perhaps corruptly written for *Abasuerus*. By this Victory over the *Assyrians*, and Subversion of their Empire, seated at *Nineveh*, and the ensuing Conquests of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia* and *Persia*, he began to extend the Reign of one Man over all *Asia*, and his Son, *Darius the Mede*, by conquering the Kingdoms of *Lydia* and *Babylon*, finished the Work: And the third King was *Cyrus*, an happy Man, for his Successes under *Darius*, and lastly his large and peaceable Dominion in his own Reign. ‡

I think, with the Great *Newton*, that *Cyaxares* was the Son of *Astyages*, and that *Mandane* the Daughter of *Astyages*, and Sister of *Cyaxares*, married *Cam-*

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* *Newton. Chron. p. 309.* † *Euseb. Præpar. Lib. IX. c. 39.* ‡ *Newton. Chron. p. 309, 310. Edit. 8vo.*

by a Persian of Quality, by whom she had Cyrus, or that Mandane was not the Daughter of *Astyages*, but of *Cyaxares*, and the Wife of *Cyrus*; for *Herodotus* places the Kings wrong. So that *Cyrus* was near the same Age with *Darius the Mede*, who was, according to *Daniel* 62, at the taking of *Babylon*. This *Darius* was (probably) the Conqueror of *Lydia*, tho' he might manage this War by his Cousin or Brother, and General *Cyrus*; while himself might be employed in other Conquests with another Army. And, as the judicious *Sir Isaac Newton* remarks, the Name of this Median Conqueror may be gathered from the Name of those Pieces of Money which were coined out of the *Lydian* Money, after the Conquest of *Cræsus* by *Cyrus*, for they were called *Darics*; therefore *Darius*, not *Cyrus*, was then possessed of the Sovereignty of *Media*, the conquering Nation, in the Northern Part of *Asia*, viz. North with Respect to *Judea*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had confederated with *Cyaxares* in the Joint-Overthrow of the *Assyrian* Empire, and had accordingly shared the Territories of that Empire with his Brother Conqueror, was joined with his Father *Nabopolassar* in the Kingdom, two Years before his Death. For Disturbances being raised in *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and the neighbouring Countries, chiefly by their joining themselves to the *Egyptian* Interest; and *Nabopolassar* being grown too old for War, joined his Son *Nebuchadnezzar* in the Kingdom, and committed a good Part of the Army to his Command. And *Astibares*, or *Cyaxares*, King of the *Medes*, joining the Median Forces with those of *Babylon*, in the third Year of *Jeboiakim*, *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a great Army of *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Mobites* and *Ammonites*, and laid waste *Samaria*, *Galilee* and *Scythopolis*,* and besieged *Jerusalem*, and took *Jeboiakim* alive, and bound him in Chains for a Time, *Dan.* i. 1, 2. *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 6. In this Year *DANIEL* was carried Captive. In the fourth Year of *Jeboiakim*, which was the twentieth of *Nabopolassar*,† they routed the Army of *Pharaoh-Necho* at *Carchemish*; and, by pursuing the War, took from him whatever pertained to him, from the River of *Egypt* to the River *Euphrates*, *Jer.* xlvi. 2.

While *Nebuchadnezzar* was acting in *Syria*, his Father died at *Babylon*, having reigned 21 Years.‡ And the young King, upon the News, having settled his Affairs in *Syria* as expeditiously as he could, returned to *Babylon*. Here *Berosus* relates many of his great Actions in War and Peace; his adorning the Temples with the Spoils of War; building a new City, with magnificent Walls and Gates, and stately Palaces. He also raised great Mounts to give an Inequality to the Appearance of the Surface, and made penfile Gardens; for his Queen, being a *Mede*, loved mountainous Prospects, such as she had been accustomed to, in her own Country.

Sir Isaac Newton observes that, in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, every King's Reign began with the last *Thoth* of his Predecessor's Reign; whence, says that great

* *Eupolem.* apud *Euseb. Prepar. Evang.* Lib. IX. c. 39. † *Vid. Newt. Chron.* at large, p. 300, 301. ‡ *Beros.* apud *Joseph. Antiq.* Lib. X. c. 11. *Ptol. Canon.*

great Man, it appeareth from that Canon, that *Afferbadon* died in the Year of *Nabonassar* 81, *Saosduchimus* his Successor in the Year 101, *Chinyladon* in the Year 123, *Nabopolassar* in the Year 144, and *Nebuchadnezzar* in the Year 187. All these Kings reigned successively in *Babylon*; and the last died in the 37th Year of *Jechoniab's* Captivity, 2 Kings xxv. 27. Therefore *Jechoniab* was carried Captive in the 150th Year of the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*.

This Captivity was in the 8th Year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign, 2 Kings xxiv. 12. and in the 11th of *Jeboiakim's*. For the first Year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign was the fourth of *Jeboiakim's*, Jer. xxv. i. and *Jeboiakim* reigned eleven Years before this Captivity, 2 Kings xxiii. 36. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5. and *Jechoniab* three Months, ending with the Captivity. And the tenth Year of *Jechoniab's* Captivity was the eighteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign, Jer. xxxii. 1. and the eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*, in which *Jerusalem* was taken, was the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, Jer. lii. 4, 5, 12. And therefore *Nebuchadnezzar* began his Reign in the Year of *Nabonassar*, 142. i. e. two Years before *Nabopolassar's* Death, he being then made King by his Father. *Jeboiakim* succeeded his Father, *Josiab*, in the Year of *Nabonassar*, 139. And *Jerusalem* was taken, and the Temple burnt, in the Year of *Nabonassar*, 160. about 20 Years after the Destruction of *Nineveh*.*

The same great Author observeth that the Reign of *Darius Hystaspis* over *Persia*, by the Canon, the Consent of Chronologers, and by several Eclipses of the Moon, began in Spring, in the Year of *Nabonassar*, 227. And, in the fourth Year of his Reign, they computed 70 Years of Mourning, in the fifth Month, which was on Account of the Burning of the Temple, Zech. vii. 1, 7. count backwards these 70 Years, and the Burning of the Temple will fall on the fifth Jewish Month in the Year of *Nabonassar*, 160.† As the Chaldean Astronomers counted the Reigns of their Kings by the Years of *Nabonassar*, beginning with the Month *Thoth*; so the Jews, as their Authors tell us, counted the Reigns of theirs by the Years of *Moses*, beginning every Year with the Month *Nisan*: For, if any King begun his Reign a few Days before this Month, it was reckoned to him for a whole Year; and the Beginning of this Month was accounted the Beginning of the second Year of his Reign. And, according to this Reckoning, the first Year of *Jeboiakim* began with the Month *Nisan*, An. Nabonaf. 139, tho' his Reign might not really begin till five or six Months after; and the fourth Year of *Jeboiakim*, and first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the Reckoning of the Jews, began with the Month *Nisan*, An. Nabonaf. 142. And the first Year of *Zedekiah*, and of *Jechoniab's* Captivity, and ninth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign began with the Month *Nisan*. An. Nabonaf. 150. And the tenth Year of *Zedekiah* and eighteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar* began with the Month *Nisan*, in the Year of *Nabonassar*, 159. Now, in the ninth of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Judæa*; and in the tenth Month of that Year, he besieged *Jerusalem*, 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1, 2. Jer. lii. 1, 4, 6, 7. From this Time to the

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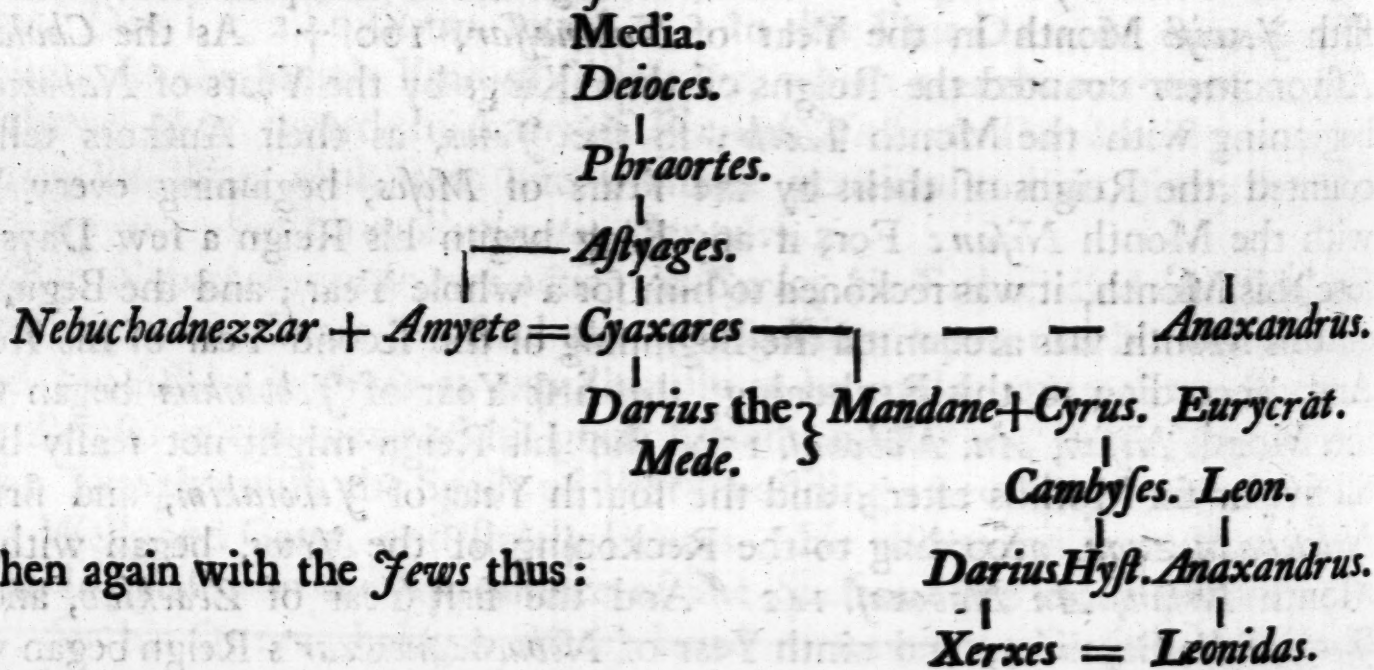
* Vid. Newt. p. 295, 296.

† Ibid. p. 297.

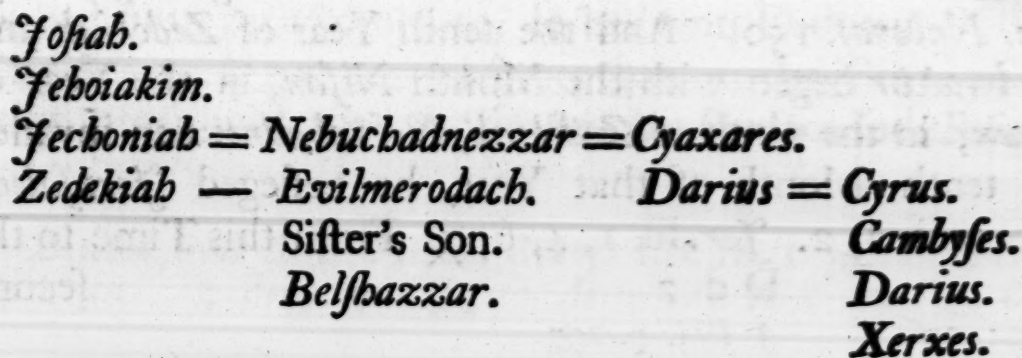
second Year of *Darius*, the tenth Month, are just seventy Years; and accordingly, upon the twenty-fourth Day of the eleventh Month of the second Year of *Darius*, the Word of the Lord came to *Zechariah*, *Zech. i. 7, 12.* And the Angel of the Lord said, *Oh Lord of Hosts, how long wilt Thou not have Mercy on Jerusalem; against which Thou hast had Indignation these threescore and ten Years?* So then the ninth Year of *Zedekiah*, in which this Indignation against *Jerusalem* begun, commenced with the Month *Nisan*, *An. Nabonaf. 158.* And the eleventh of *Zedekiah* and nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which the City was taken and the Temple burnt, commenced with the Month *Nisan*, in the Year of *Nabonassar 160*, as above.*

This large Account, for adjusting the contemporary Actions of these Princes, which I have borrowed from *Sir Isaac Newton*, will assist us in computing their Age also. *Jechoniah* could not be much younger than *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he was near, or about, nineteen, when he was made a Captive; which was in the ninth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*: And, as he came to the Throne in his Father *Nabopolassar's* Life-time, he must be but young. Suppose him about twenty-one, he would be in the ninth of his Reign thirty, when *Jechoniah* was about nineteen, about eleven Years Difference. Again; the Kings of *Judah* about that Age married remarkably young: *Josiab* could be but fifteen, when he had his Son *Jehoiakim*. And *Jechoniah* himself must marry very young, because he had Wives taken Captive with him, when he could scarce be nineteen, *2 Kings xxiv. 15.* which would make their Generations very short; as the Tumults of the Times made their Reigns short.

I will therefore state a parallel Genealogy of these Successions in the East, with those from *Leonidas* in the West.



Then again with the Jews thus:



* *Newton. p. 298, 299.*

So that, if *Nebuchadnezzar* was near Contemporary with *Jechoniah* in the *Jewish* Line, with *Cyaxares*, and the Father of *Cyrus*, in the *Median* and *Persian* Line, and with *Eurycrates*, in the *Spartan* Line. Then the Age of the World, in which every Transaction of *Greek* History may be supposed to have happened, may be determined to competent Satisfaction, by comparing it with the *Hebrew* Line of Succession from *David* to *Jechoniah*. Only we may allow near twenty Years Difference in Age, of those Princes, who are set down as Contemporaries. And yet this could seldom have happened, since the Difference from *Eli* to *Jechoniah* in the *Hebrew* Succession, and from *Lelex* to *Leonidas*, in the *Spartan* Succession, in almost thirty Descents, differs not more than two Generations.

Judæa.

Sparta.

*Joash.**Aristodemus.**Amaziah.**Eurysthenes.**Proclis.**Uzziah.**Agis.**Sous.**Jotham.**Echestratus.**Euripon.**Abaz.**Labotas.**Prytanis.**Hezekiah.**Dorissus.**Euromus.**Manasseh.**Agefilaus.**Polydetes.**Amon.**Archelaus.**Charilaus.**Josiah.**Teleclus.**Nicander.**Jehoiakim.**Alcamenes.**Theopompus.**Zedekiah.**Polydorus.**Archidamus*, died before his Father.*Jechoniah.**Eurycrates* I.*Zeuxidamus* = *Nebuchadnezzar*.*Anaxander* I.*Evilmerodach.**Eurycrates* II.*Belsazzar* = *Cyrus*.*Leon.**Cambyses.**Anaxander* II.*Ariston.**Darius.**Gleomenes.**Leonidas.**Demaratus.**Xerxes.*

C H A P. XVI.

On the authentic Egyptian History written by Moses.

WHAT further remains of my Design is more particularly to consider those Histories which are alledged to be the most *ancient*; and what is to be esteemed therein, either *fabulous* or *dubious*; and what may be reckoned genuine and *authentic*, in any Parts of them.

I have

I have, in the last Chapters, chiefly confined myself to the Consideration of the *Greek* Antiquities, which I cannot but think, are the most ancient and genuine among *Pagan* Antiquities; whatever some learned Men have alledged, concerning the comparative Recency of them. As *Josephus*, *Tatian*, and several others.

In my proceeding upon this further Enquiry into the highest *Pagan* Antiquities, every Reader will turn his Eyes on the *Egyptian* and *Assyrian* Histories, as affording the most pertinent Instances for this kind of Enquiry.

There are, indeed, all these Particulars to be found in them.

(1.) They glory in being very *ancient*, even the most ancient Nations in the World, and to have among them the most ancient Accounts of their Affairs.

(2.) There are some Things relating to these Nations, among the Narratives of Antiquity, which are certainly *genuine* and *authentic*, and can be settled in Synchronisms with other People's Affairs, with which we are well acquainted, viz. the *Hebrews*. But then these genuine Monuments of their Antiquity, are not *Egyptian* or *Assyrian* Monuments, but properly *Hebrew* ones.

(3.) Yet there are many other Things in each, which must be allowed to be *fabulous*; partly owing to their Ignorance of ancient Times, and partly to their Disposition to Fiction, and to magnify by Invention, these Antiquities, when they had no *known* Materials, with which to fill up the Time. We may conclude these to be fabulous, because they will not quadrate with any synchronal Times or Actions of the *Hebrew* Story, in the genuine *Hebrew* Antiquities.

I shall sum up what occurs on this Subject in these two Chapters.

I. 1. I shall begin with the genuine *Egyptian* History written by that unexceptionable Antiquary, *Moses* himself.

II. 2. We must next descend to the Examination of their History, as it was wrote partly and chiefly *Fabulously*, and partly *Historically*, by *Herodotus*, *Manetho*, *Eratosthenes* and *Diodorus Siculus*, postponing the Consideration of the *Assyrian* Affairs, we shall begin with the *Egyptian*; both as I take them to be more ancient, and also extended thro' a longer Space of Time downwards. And as they have taken up most of the Labour of the greatest Christian Chronologers, not only ancient but modern, such as *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* of old; and *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, and our learned Prelates, the Lord Primate *Usber*, and Bishop *Cumberland*, even down to our own Age. Sir *John Marsham* also, in a Way of his own, has with great Learning laboured to support them, as affording an orderly Chronology up to the Days of *Ham* himself. Tho' at the same Time we must own that these *Egyptian* Antiquities have been called in Question by several of the greatest Writers, as *Perizonius*, who has employed twelve Chapters of his *Origines Aegyptiacae*, in undermining the different Fabrics of learned Men, which they have endeavoured to build on this Basis of the *Egyptian* Records and Monuments.

And

And * he professes "his Design in confuting the Opinions of so many great Men, was to shew, that there was no Certainty in the Chronology of the Egyptians, of their most ancient Times, before *Psammetichus* Father of *Pharaob-Necho*, who slew *Josiah*."

Then again *Sir Isaac Newton*, who is *instar Omnium*, has in his masterly Way, like *Sampson*, applied his Shoulder to the Gates of *Gaza*, and I think left this Fabric of Antiquity half defenceless.

We must begin with the genuine *Egyptian* History written by *Moses* himself. Against this we have no Exception made by any of these great Opposers of its fabulous Antiquities.

S E C T. I.

Conjectures on the Nature of the Primitive Government in Egypt, gathered from Moses's History.

IT must be owned that this is not properly an *Egyptian* History; yet *Moses* takes Occasion to mention its Affairs, as they coincide with those of the *Hebrew* Nation, or its Ancestors. And so far as he proceeds in his Accounts of them, we may esteem it the most genuine Relation of the State of their Affairs at that Time, that has ever appeared in the World.

(1.) I acknowledge that *Moses* doth not give a distinct Account of the Rise of the Monarchy, or the Plantation of the Country: Tho' he mentions the Posterity of *Ham*, yet he names not expressly either the Countries in which they settled, or the Boundaries of their several Districts, or the Time when any of them erected their little States or Kingdoms. The *Primordia* of the *Egyptian* States are passed over in as much Silence, as the rest, and much more than the *Babylonians*, or *Canaanites*. Indeed some Nations or People seem to be pointed at, by the Plural Termination of the *Hebrew* Names of the Sons of *Misraim*, in *Gen. x. 13*. This looks as if these *Plurals* had been designed to express Tribes, as if they had been the Descendants of those Sons, and as a People or a Country called by that Name. Thus *Misraim* begat *Ludim*, *Ananim*, *Lebabim*, *Naptubim* and *Pathrusim*; and as these Names of a Country or People are long after said to be in *Egypt*, and as *Misraim* is the general *Hebrew* Name for the Country of *Egypt*, so we may consider this as an indirect Way of naming the Planters of *Egypt*, and its several Divisions, according as those different Branches or Tribes of *Misraim's* Family settled there.

(2.) We

* *Perizon. Origin. Ægypt. cap. 13. pag. 204.* — Ego vero fateor ultro hoc unum me huc usque egisse & voluisse, ut probarem, nihil Certi ex Chronologiâ Ægyptiorum antiquissimi temporis, ante *Psammetichum* hauriri posse.

(2.) We may conceive that it could not have been long *after* the General Dispersion in the *East*, that the Inhabitants of *Egypt* began to unite into an orderly Society, in such Form and Method, as gave them the Convenience of a regular, policed State. For when *Abraham* went thither, upon being constrained to leave *Canaan*, by a Famine, which then straitened that Country, there was then a King of *Egypt*; from which Fact, we have ample Demonstration of the great Antiquity of the Kingdom of *Egypt*. For at that Time *Pharaoh* was the established Name of the Kings of *Egypt*, and he had a regular Court and Attendance, his Princes and Counsellors. But indeed what Rank they bore, what kind of Dignity and Precedency they had, what the Nature of their Offices and Superiority was, and what Extent of Territory his Authority or Dominion reached to, we have no Intimations of, by which we can form a Judgment of the Grandeur or Power of the Kingdom. But as to its *Beginning*, it could not have been long after the General Dispersion, since the Age or Time of *Abraham's* Coming into *Canaan* is so distinctly and explicitly stated by *Moses*.

(3.) We may suppose that the Government must at that Time have been partly *Patriarchal*, and partly *Elective*. 'Tis probable that the first Planters of *Egypt* came under some Patriarchal Leader or Head of the Tribe, perhaps some of the Posterity of *Misraim*; since the Country was called *Misraim* after him. One of considerable Age would be like to have the greatest Experience and Authority in settling a new Colony; and, among his own Descendants or Kindred, would have the greatest Affection, Reverence and Respect.—But when these first Leaders were gone, it is probable that something of Elective might take Place, in appointing a qualified Person to preside over their Affairs: Tho' he might be of the ancient Leader's Family; yet there might be among his own Sons that were near the same Age, some of superior Qualifications to others. The Qualities of superior *Wisdom* and Knowledge, or superior *Strength* and Activity, or *Wealth* and Industry, would all conspire to recommend Persons to Power and Command, by the Choice of these that were to be under their Government. The most *knowing* are commonly confided in for *Counsel* and Advice in all Difficulties and Emergencies; the most *vigorous* and active for *Protection* and Defence; and even the *Wealthy* are sought to by the *Negligent* and Careless, who by their Negligence and Sloth soon become *poor*. By this Means the Industrious and Provident soon obtain Servants, who seek to them, for the Supplies which they cannot provide for themselves. Those who either wanted Genius and Capacity, or Strength and Activity, or Care and Industry, or Faithfulness and Virtue, could have no Land of their own, since they would not be like to improve and cultivate it: But they must have Food and Raiment, and other Necessaries; and so would put themselves under the Care of the Rich, the Diligent and Virtuous. And then as all could not be Kings, so the rest would agree to put themselves under the Government of those who had the good Quali-

Qualities ; which might be very different even in the near Relations of the first Leader of the Colony. Again ; when the People were but few, there could not be any very formidable *Disorders*, to require great *Vigour* or *Power* in the *Government* to restrain them.

(4.) It may with great Probability be supposed that there was nothing very Arbitrary or Despotic in the Manner of the Kingdom, at or near the Beginning. So Historically we find, that *Pharaoh* behaved with great Gentleness towards *Abraham*.* And this was perhaps the Method of Kings, in those primitive Ages of Simplicity. There was then a greater Parity among Mankind : And when Government itself was erected either from Patriarchal Love, as by the Father of a Family over his own Tribe ; or for the general Good, by the Choice of the Subjects ; we must think it would be at first a mild and gentle Thing. And if by Degrees it became Hereditary, by regarding Primogeniture in the Posterity of the Patriarch Monarch ; yet if it was considered under the Notion of a fatherly Authority descending to the Hereditary King, there was a Tenderness in the very Notion ; and if it was partly Elective, tho' in the Patriarch's Family, it must have been considered that Government was in the Notion of it, an Instrument of the Public Good. So that probably this gentle and humane Kind of Government was the Species of Primitive Government that at first prevailed, of which this first King of *Egypt* was a Sample, in *Abraham's* Time.

S E C T. II.

On the Successions of the Kings, in the former Ages of the Egyptian Government according to the Authentic History of Moses.

WE do not find that this methodical Order in that State immediately ceased, or was broke off by Rebellions, Discontents, Emulations, or Insurrections. For on the next Occasion, on which the Removes of the *Hebrews* required the Mention of *Egypt*, we find the State subsisting with their *Pharaoh* at the Head of it. This could not be the next Successor to the *Pharaoh* who reigned in *Abraham's* Migration thither. For supposing him to have been about *Abraham's* Age, yet his Successor must have been much older than *Isaac*, who was born when *Abraham* was an old Man. And this King, who reigned in the Time of *Joseph's* Preferment, must have been at least the fourth in Descent from the King who reigned in the first Famine. For *Jacob*, when he came down into *Egypt*, blessed *Pharaoh*, which was a Mark of superior Years. We know distinctly the Distance betwixt these two

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* Gen. xii. 18, 20.

Egyptian Reigns. For *Jacob* was 130 when he came to *Egypt*, *Isaac* was 60 when *Jacob* was born, and it must have been 20 Years betwixt *Abraham's* being in *Egypt* and *Isaac's* Birth; $130 + 60 + 20 = 210$ Years from *Abraham's* being first in *Egypt* to the Time of *Jacob's* Coming down.

The King of *Egypt*, in *Joseph's* Time, seems to have grown to more Pomp and State, and Luxury. He had distinct Officers for his *Palace*, a chief Butler and chief Baker, and also for the *Kingdom*, as Captain of the Guard, or the chief National Executioner. He had several Chariots of State, in the second of which *Joseph* was to ride. And he seems to have swelled to a more arbitrary and despotic Dominion, as appeareth both from the Instance of pardoning the chief Butler, and executing the chief Baker, which both seem to have been the King's own Acts; and also from that high and elate Manner of Expression in *Gen. xli. 44.* *I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no Man lift up his Hand or Foot in all the Land of Egypt.* How long this King reigned is not said, but it is probable he was an older Person than *Joseph*, and so in the Course of Nature would die before him. So that we may conclude,

(2.) That another King came to the Crown before *Joseph's* Death. *Joseph* was 30 Years old when he stood before *Pharaoh*, *Gen. xli. 46.* And he was 110 Years old when he died, *Gen. l. 22, 26.* the Manner, in which they interred *Joseph*, was attended with those Circumstances of Public Respect, which sufficiently demonstrated, that he was not forgotten, tho' it was no less than 80 Years after his first Preferment. This Space of Time, however, makes it very reasonable to suppose that a second King was reigning at this Time, if not a third.

(3.) We have a certain Account at least of a third King which here arose. One, who was so distant from the Time of his Government, that he knew not *Joseph*, *Exod. i. 8.* Now, as this King was the Beginner of the *Hebrew* Oppressions, so he must have reigned some Years in the exercising over them the first Species of Cruelty, that of oppressing them with burdensome Works, for *they built Treasure-Cities for Pharaoh*, *Exod. i. 11.* But this Scheme of Cruelty not answering their full Design; (for when they had made sufficient Trial of this, and finding that *the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew*, *Exod. i. 12.*) they then proceeded to practise on the Integrity of the Midwives, *Exod. i. 16.* Now all these various Attempts to weaken them, must have taken up a considerable Time: And at last *Pharaoh* orders the drowning of all the Male-Children, *Exod. i. 22.* Now we may reasonably conclude, that this Edict was in Force when *Moses* was born; since *he was hid three Months by his Parents*, *Exod. ii. 2.* By considering all these Things, it will appear that this King must have reigned a considerable Time before the Birth of *Moses*, and he must not have been a young Person at that Time, for he had a Daughter at Woman's Estate, who adopted *Moses* in his Infancy. *Moses*, when grown up to Years, visited his Brethren, and slew the *Egyptian*; but, upon the Report of this Event, he fled; and the
King

King fought to lay Hands on him, but in vain, *Exod. ii. 15.* So that, if *Moses* was 40 Years of Age when he fled, the King must have been, by the Circumstances of his Family, above 40 when *Moses* was born, and so above 80 at that Time, and so probably died soon after. So that I think it is very likely that here was another Succession. However, it is certain that this King, if he lived all that Time of the Oppressions, yet was dead before *Moses* was recalled from *Midian*, *Exod. ii. 23.* and *iv. 15.*

(4.) We have therefore a fourth Succession on the Throne of *Egypt*, from that King, who was on the Throne at the Preferment of *Joseph*. This may be all considered as regular History, in which one Reign is plainly distinguished from another, either by distinct Actions that are very memorable, or by the express Account of their Deaths, and the Mention of their Successors. Thus a new King arose with this Character, that he knew not *Joseph*. And he was further remarkable for his Cruelty in oppressing the *Israelites*, both by putting them under great Severity of Bondage, hard Labour and Drudgery, both in Building, and in the Field; and when this did not hinder their Increase in Numbers, he superadded sanguinary Decrees for destroying their Male-Children in the Birth, or by drowning them as soon as born. This Prince was pretty old at the Birth of *Moses*, and as *Moses* was about 80 when he was recalled from *Midian*, it is probable that he must have been dead some Time before that Return; however, he was certainly dead before *Moses* came back from *Jethro*.

(5.) Then his Successor's Reign was further remarkably distinguished by a certain peculiar Obstinacy and incorrigible Hardness of Mind. These Princes were of such a similar Temper for Oppression and Cruelty, that we cannot certainly tell whether there were more than one before *Moses's* Return from *Midian*; tho' from the Length of Time in which they reigned, it seems probable that there were two. But this Successor, whether the second or third of the Oppressors, was distinguished, by the Judgments which were executed upon him. His Predecessors had been left to follow their own Schemes of Policy, or native Pride and Cruelty, and seem to have had no extraordinary Methods made use of with them, to soften them into Gentleness, or bring them to better Policy, or more prudent and tender Measures. But this last had all the Methods made use of with him, that were apt to work on any reasonable Mind, and to convince even the most inveterate, unrelenting Idolater, who had fallen into the very Dregs of Polytheism, and into all the idolatrous Dependance on those false Gods in which he trusted. He bid Defiance to the Almighty, *I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.* And with impious Pride shut his Heart against all those amazing Judgments which ranged thro' all Nature, to demonstrate the Power of God over every Element, Water, Earth, and Air, and all their various Regions. And when at last he was terrified into Compliance, yet when that was over which frightened him, he relapsed into his old Perverseness; and so was re-

served for a most singular Triumph of Divine Power over all his profane Obstinacy; in an unparalleled Overthrow of himself, and his whole Army in the *Red Sea*.

All these remarkable Successions of Reigns we have in the *Egyptian* History of *Moses*, marked out and distinguished by such extraordinary Events: And after them, there is no Mention of the *Egyptian* Affairs and their Government, or Kings in the Old Testament, till *Solomon's* Reign, which was about 500 Years after, 1 *Kings* vi. 1.

C H A P. XVII.

On the Egyptian History written by Herodotus, Manetho, Eratosthenes, and Diodorus Siculus.

WE must now descend to the Examination of the History of *Egypt*, as it was partly and chiefly drawn up *Fabulously*, and partly *Historically*, by the *Pagan* Writers. From all their Accounts it will appear, that their ancient Authors were either extremely ignorant of their Antiquities, or they were very unfair and unfaithful in recording them.

S E C T. I.

On their Ignorance of all Primitive Antiquity, and the General History of the World.

(1.) **T**H O' they profess to set out with such high Antiquity, as to transcend the Computations of all other Nations, yet they do not appear to have known any Thing of the Primitive State of the World. It is obvious, that they were ignorant of the *Creation*, and had no Notion of a Distance from a certain Beginning, or a precise Time from the Origin of the World; which must render their Enlargements of their own Antiquities very injudicious; by stretching them frequently beyond the Creation, and pretending that there were Inhabitants in *Egypt*, before the World itself existed, of which *Whole*, *Egypt* was but a *Part*.

(2.) They appear to have been entirely ignorant of the Origin of the Human Race from *two Parents*, and accordingly they fabled the Inhabitants of their Country to be derived from the prolific Nature of the Soil, and the Inundations of the *Nile*; and hence must arise a further Confusion in their Accounts of the Origin of Mankind, and their own Antiquity.

(3.) They appear to have been alike ignorant of the Tradition of the *Universal Deluge*, which left all the World unpeopled alike, at a certain Time.

Time. They knew nothing of the regular Descent of all Nations at that Time from one Family ; tho' there are Phænomena in Nature, from the Remains of Fish and other aquatic Animals in the highest Mountains, which cannot be explained any other Way, and may be easily accounted for, on Supposition of a General Deluge. And tho' indeed there be some Remnants of the Tradition of a Deluge, yet it seems to have been reduced to a partial and national Disaster only.

Now from this *Ignorance* of the great Revolutions in the Primitive World, they must be unapprised of the *Absurdity* of Rising in their own Antiquities beyond the *Flood*, or even the *Creation*. They had Knowledge enough of the General History of the World, to furnish them with Arguments of Prudence to admonish them where to stop, when they begun to fable their Antiquities. They could not find Boundaries to their Vanity, even by Discretion, and so ventured to talk of 20000 Years spent under the Government of the Gods.

(4.) They pretend not to give an Account of the Plantation and Settlement of their own *Country* and *Monarchy*, or of their first Kings. They are silent even as to the Reigns and Actions of those ancient Kings, whose Affairs *Moses* so distinctly describes. Tho' there was for so long a Space of Time, a Succession of Monarchs of *Egypt*, distinguished by such remarkable Actions, and Characters, and great Events, as *Moses* ascribeth to them, and by which he distinguisheth them.

The *Egyptian* History wrote by *Pagans* is all a Void, as to those great Events, which *Moses* enumerateth, and with which he fills up above 500 Years of active, historic Time. The memorable Event of the King's Dreams predicting successive Years of Plenty and Scarcity : Their Nation being made (by the Prudence of the King and his Minister) the Granary of the World : Their being applied to as such, from all the adjacent Countries : The Changes of Property and of the Tenure of their Lands, thro' all the Kingdom of *Egypt* : And the settling of a Colony of Strangers among them by the Consent and Favour of the King. There is a like Silence as to the remarkable Severities which they used at last, against the Descendants of that peaceable Colony ; and of the remarkable Judgments which were inflicted upon the *Egyptians*, on Account of that Cruelty ; or, however, of those remarkable Visitations which befel them ; which they might have related as Facts, tho' they had concealed the Occasion of them. Again, there is a total Silence, as to the last determining Disaster which befel the Prince and all his Army, and the Flower of the whole Nation, in their being drowned in the *Red Sea*.

When it appears by reading *Herodotus*, or the Fragments of any of the rest, that they knew so little, however have recorded nothing concerning their own Original, or the Primitive State of the World ; and that there is so great a Chasm in their own History, which *Moses* fills up with remarkable Events
in

in successive Reigns, for about the Space of 500 Years, we must needs conclude either that they were very great Strangers to their own Antiquities, or very careless in recording them.

S E C T. II.

No Egyptian History began till after the Exodus.

IT seems highly probable, and I think clear, from this universal Silence among the *Egyptians* themselves, concerning their own Original, or that of other Nations, or even their first Ages of Historical Time, that they began not to draw up any History, till after the Egression of the *Hebrews*, and the Drowning of the *Egyptian* Army at the *Red Sea*.

They mention nothing of their first Kings, or any of their Actions in War or Peace; or their Improvements of any Kind in Building or Tillage. But they represented the first Ages of their Government as spent under the Dominion of their Gods; as if they were a Sort of supernatural Beings, different from, and above Man, who first reigned there.

If they had begun to make use of this Language so early as the Days of *Moses*, yet we cannot indeed imagine, he would have stuffed the sacred Pages with such History, as was founded upon such Sentiments of Absurdity, as that of reigning Gods. His own History was a rational, intelligible Account of Human Actions, which Men might judge of, by comparing them with the ordinary Ways of Mankind.

And even when *Moses* wrote concerning extraordinary, miraculous Events, which might be justly called the Operations of God; yet he gives an Account of visible Effects, of which our Senses were Judges. Such as these, Whether Water was bloody or not, in Appearance to the Eye or Smell: Whether a Country did or did not at a certain Time, abound with Frogs and other Vermin: Whether there was at a certain Time, extraordinary Thunder, Hail and Storms: Whether there was Darkness or Light out of their ordinary Seasons: Whether a Pestilence particularly cut off *only* the First-born of all Families at one Time: And whether these preternatural Events punctually happened, upon a Prediction and Declaration of *Moses*, that it *would be* so at such a Time, by the Righteous Will, or Sovereign Wisdom of God.

But there was not, as I apprehend, any such Language come into Use in *Egypt* at that Time, as the reigning of their Gods, with Powers similar to those of Men or Kings, to execute the Functions of Magistracy visibly among Mankind; or that there was any such Distinction then known, as to the Beginning or Ending of the Reigns of their Gods, by which to calculate any Duration, or Distance of Times.

And

And besides, there is no Appearance of Propriety or Meaning in their calling their first Ages the Reigns of the *Gods*, for they did not pretend to any singular Advantages from that Dominion. They did not pretend to any particular extensive Empire under *Jupiter*; nor under *Neptune* did they boast of their naval Power; not under *Minerva* or *Apollo* did they boast of any Advantages for any peculiar flourishing of Sciences or Arts; not under *Mercury* for any singular Enlargements of Commerce; not under *Osiris* and *Isis*, even for Agriculture, or the Blessings of rural Life. Tho' those Deities were, according to the Doctrine of their Mythology, the peculiar Patrons of those Improvements among Mankind.

This strange Fiction of the Reigns of their Gods, without pretending to any beneficial Effects of their supernatural Operations, to give the Language the Appearance of common Sense, seems to have been invented in an Age of Ignorance, with a pure View to enlarge their National Antiquities, when they could give no better Account of them, and properly knew nothing of them.

It was out of pure Ostentation of Antiquity, that they thought of this mythic and fabulous Way of extending their Computations of their Times, by pretending that their first Ages were spent under the Reigns of their *Gods*, for no less than about 20,000 Years.

I apprehend, indeed, that they begun not to talk of the Reigns of the Gods in the *early* Ages of their Monarchy, or during the *Times* that *Moses* lived. For any such Hints must have been despised, near the *Beginning* of their own State, when People with their own Eyes could see the Thinness of their People, the Paucity and Smallness of their Cities; and many then alive could have remembered the *first* Planting the Country *after* the Flood. And it could not be mentioned in the Age of *Moses*, who had been bred at Court, among mortal Kings, and had heard of nothing but a Succession of such Princes for many Reigns before.

From all which I conclude, that they begun not to *compose* History till *after* the Time of the *Hebrews* Egression from their Country.

S E C T. III.

The old Egyptian Learning perished at the Time of the Egression of the Israelites out of the Country.

HOWEVER, the Subject of this Section may have the Appearance of a Paradox, or at least of a precarious Conjecture, and incapable of Proof;—yet we have here a Foundation laid in true History, upon which we build the Conclusion; and must leave it to the Judgment of the candid Reader, with what Strength the Edifice is built up.

(1.) I will here assume, what I hope I have already proved, that they had not at the Time of the *Exodus*, any Knowledge of Letters, which could be of any great Use for History or Records. They could not then have *Alphabetical Letters*, because they were not discovered to the World till after that remarkable Event of the Egression; and if they had any Knowledge of Hieroglyphics or Symbolic Writing, it could not be of any great Service to record intelligibly and distinctly any Series of Facts, for a competently clear *Narration*.

(2.) I doubt not but they might have some considerable Traditional Learning among the *Egyptians*, viz. that in which *Moses* was educated. They might have their learned Men, who made it their Business to study their National, and other Traditions; whereby they might preserve the Memory of many past Affairs, by telling them often over, in their verbal Teachings or Lectures. By this Sort of Learning, those who were most at Leisure, would make Improvements in the Acquaintance with their National History, or with the Knowledge of their most memorable public Transactions. They might be very well supposed to know all the Revolutions in their State, occasioned by the King's *Dreams*, and the Interpretation of them; the Beginning and the Progress of all the *Oppressions* of the *Hebrew Nation*, till at last they ended in the Overthrow of the *Egyptian Strength and Glory* at the *Red Sea*.

(3.) But that Period was, and in the Nature of Things must have been, very disastrous to their LEARNING, as well as their Strength and Wealth, and every Thing in which the *Egyptian Glory* was concerned. For they could have no LEARNING or HISTORY, except what was contained in their TRADITIONS; and their *Traditions* were in the Custody of their learned Men, whose *Memory* was the *Repository* of all their *Records*.

And when the King, the great and learned Men, and the Flower of the *Egyptian Nation* were cut off, partly by the Excision of the First-born, in which many of their learned Youth might fall; and chiefly by the calamitous Expedition to the *Red Sea*, in which the Body of their great Men, and also of their learned Men, would be like to perish, as being like to be nearest the King's Person.

When therefore their *learned Men* were gone, their Knowledge of History must effectually perish. And it must be irrecoverably lost, since all their methodical Records were locked up in THEIR Breasts. The *Memory* of the *past Affairs* of *Egypt* must be at that Time *blotted out*, and expunged *for ever* from among them. They had none but living Libraries, and those must then have been mostly consumed in the rolling Waves of the *Red Sea*, which overwhelmed them.

(4.) The common People of *Egypt* must have been chiefly left behind, at the King's March; and those would probably have less Learning when it was so hard to come at, than our Husbandmen or Shepherds now have. And yet
from

from them it could scarce be expected that a new System of Science, especially History, should be recovered, if all our Books should be consumed.

(5.) From what I have urged under this Section, it will be evident, however highly *probable*, that the ensuing Time must be a Period of great Ignorance among the *Egyptians*. Accordingly, their Nation was long obscure, and they are never afterwards mentioned in the *Hebrew* Scriptures, till the Reign of *Solomon*. Whatever must be *then* doing in that Country, *after* the Exodus of *Israel*, must lay a Foundation for the *Beginning* of all their History. Their Records must all *begin* from this disastrous Period; all the Intimations of their Antiquity must be, that about this Time their Nation, which had been long flourishing under a long Succession of great Princes, was extraordinarily cut off, and all its Historians, or *Keepers* of its Traditions, fell in that signal Defeat. So that they must have nothing to speak of in the Way of National History, but the Transactions of that Age, and what succeeded them downwards.

(6.) I would finally remark on this Subject, that the State of *Egypt*, as to its Ignorance of its own Affairs before the *Exodus*, cannot be accounted for, but on this Supposition, that they had no ancient Traditions left, and no Writing till after. Now since they had had Learning among them, if they had no Letters, it could only consist in verbal Traditions, which must perish with those whose Care was to study them and preserve them. But the State of *Egypt* was this total Ignorance of all these past Times; for not one *Egyptian* Writer ever names any of the Facts as to the King's Dreams, the Season of Fruitfulness, or the Famine, or the Coming of the *Israelites*, or any of the *Egyptian* Severities towards them, or the Plagues of *Egypt*, or the Drowning the King and his Army in the *Red Sea*. Whether they had believed this Event miraculous or not; whether they had esteemed it a Judgment from God, or not, yet it might have been related as a Fact, tho' they had taken another Way of accounting for it, as by an extraordinary Spring-Tide, or such like: But not one Historian, *Herodotus*, *Manetho*, or *Diodorus*, give the least Intimation of any of these Facts, in any Historical Hint, or in any fabulous Disguise. And further, the very highest Length of Antiquity that even their Fables of the Wars of the *Gods* go, were no higher than *Sesac's* in *Egypt*, or *Asa's* Reigns in *Judaea*.

Now this State of *Egypt*, as to the Knowledge and History of their own, or any other Nation's Antiquity, is easy to account for, on the Supposition that they had the Knowledge of their own Affairs only by Traditions, which would be preserved methodically, only by those who studied them, and made themselves perfect in them, and so must be lost if the Teachers were lost in the *Red Sea*, and the Scholars among the First-born; and if they had, at that Time, no Letters to supply the Deficiency of Memory.

S E C T. IV.

The new Learning of the Egyptians begun from their Acquaintance with the Hebrew Antiquities in the Reign of Solomon.

NOW a new Scene presents itself, in the *Egyptian Affairs*; and some Kind of Light breaks out in that Land, which had long been a Region of Darknefs.

I apprehend, that the very Original, from which all the later Curiosity in *Egypt* took its proper Rise, was really this, namely, Their coming acquainted with the *Jewish Letters and Antiquities*, in the Reign of *Solomon*. He was the great Improver of *almost* all the World; and his elegant and learned Reign was the Season of that general Improvement.

(1.) I must note, that we have again *express History* here, to conclude from, and argue upon. Whatever Doubt there may be as to the Improvement of other Nations in Learning and Knowledge, by their Correspondence with the Court of *Jerusalem* at that Season; yet it is almost undeniable, that the *Egyptians* must, at that Time, have attained a considerable Knowledge of the *Hebrew Learning and Antiquities*. They had more Opportunities than any other People, both from the *Greatness* and the *Length* of their Intimacy. For *Solomon's* marrying *Pharaoh's* Daughter must lay a Foundation for those *peculiar* Intimacies betwixt the two Nations. Such Alliances are, in the *ordinary* Course of Things, a common Occasion of a *particular* Correspondence. And the King was then in his Youth; and that Princess was treated with singular Dignity and Respect. She had a Palace built for her, of costly Materials, and of very elegant Structure, 1 *Kings* viii. 7. And if she had her *own Palace*, we may suppose she had many of her *Domestics* of her own *Countrymen*; as I have observed before. She was probably a *Profelyte* to the *Jewish Religion*, as some of her principal *Egyptian Domestics* might also be. Hereby she and they must have great Opportunities of acquainting themselves with the *Jewish Learning*, particularly the *Jewish Antiquities*; which they could not but have a *peculiar Curiosity* to be informed of, since they were in such close Connexion with *Egyptian Affairs*. It is naturally to be expected, that in a *common* Way of Correspondence, there should have been great Communications of Knowledge, where it was, as one may say, the Chief Manufacture, and Capital Commodity of the Place; and it may be more amply expected, from a more *particular* Correspondence, such as would arise from this Intermarriage.

(2.) But the *Egyptians* being themselves very destitute of all Monuments of Antiquity in their own Country, and being almost wholly ignorant of their own past Affairs; they could scarce have thought of magnifying their Antiquities,

quities, till they were put upon it, by some Emulation or Rivalship. They knew of no Nation before that Time, with whom to have any Emulation, on this Point of national Antiquity. And why should they claim a Precedency by Lying and Fable, which no body disputed, by either affirming or denying it?

(3.) But when they now came to find, what they had not suspected before, that the *Jews* could make great Pretensions this Way, to Antiquity; that they professed to have Records of their own Nation, which ascended many Ages backward; in which they had Accounts of a great Variety of Fortunes, under which they and their Ancestors had passed for a long Succession of Years; and that their Records were so punctual, as to be almost as exact as Annals, from the Beginning and Plantation of the World at the General Deluge; and further up, even to the Creation itself. Their Observation of this *High* Antiquity of the *Jews*, was a natural Occasion of their Emulation on this Head.

(4.) When they further observed that the *Jews* made frequent Mention of the *Egyptian* Nation, in their sacred Writings, as a very *ancient* People. That they acknowledged that *Egypt* was regularly formed and methodized into a Kingdom, or orderly, policied Society, under a King and his Princes, even before the *Hebrew* Nation was in being; when all that People was yet in the Loins of *Abraham* their great Ancestor. And when further they observed, that there had been a Succession of Princes on the Throne of *Egypt*, remarkable for several great Events. All these Observations would conspire to excite their Ambition, and Emulation on this Point of Antiquity. It would be apt to put them on Pretensions, which their own National Stories could minister no Occasion for. Here the *Egyptians* might be naturally enough put upon *higher* Thoughts of themselves, with Regard to their Antiquity; since other Nations spoke much more pompously concerning them, than they themselves knew or suspected any Thing of.

(5.) This Correspondence with the Court of *Jerusalem*, might probably continue with great Intimacy, for many Years, even till the Death of the *Queen*, the Daughter of *Pharaoh*. And it may be very probably conjectured, that she lived to a considerable Age. For it is said that *Solomon* loved many strange Women besides, or together with the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, which supposes her to be then alive. And it is not intimated, that he was perverted to Idolatry by his Wives, till he was old. So that we may suppose this Opportunity of Improvement continued to the *Egyptians* a long Time, and hereby their Increase in this Knowledge would be more considerable.

Now the more clearly and fully they were instructed in the *Jewish* Antiquities, the more would they aspire after something parallel to it among themselves. And hence, I conclude that the Humour of an exorbitant amplifying their own Antiquities, took its Rise among the *Egyptians*.

S E C T. V.

On the Original of the fabulous Egyptian History, as it is set down by Pagan Writers.

(1.) **T**HIS has been a Point frequently searched into by the Learned, how it could possibly happen that Men of any tolerable Understanding, should ever dream of such a fabulous Antiquity as they feigned, or ever hope that they could impose it on the Credulity of the World, since no other Nation had fabled their Original from the Gods.

(2.) But we, I think, have hit upon the Mystery of this exorbitant Fable of their Origin and Antiquity. They had probably, by the Means of the destroying the Flower of the Country all together at the *Red Sea*, really fallen into that Ignorance of their old Traditions, which we have supposed, and so could not in an Age, have any Remembrance of their former Kings. But when they came to find that their Nation was considerable for Antiquity, among the Records of the *Jews*, their Priests or learned Men gradually began to think of the best Scheme they could, for their own National Grandeur and Significancy in this Respect.

(3.) But they would not allow their Knowledge of their own Antiquity to be owing to the Records of any other People; and therefore invented one that would be easily granted to be their own. As it is, I think, the most feasible Account of the Matter, that they had their first Knowledge of Letters in the Reign of *Solomon*, so the *Egyptian* History commenced from that Time. And their first Attempt to *write* History must have been nearly of the same Date, as well as their beginning to *make* it. For as they could not write before, so they had but little to write of that Kind, as to the Transactions of former Times among themselves.

(4.) When *they* could write Records, as well as the *Jews*, they must soon be sensible that they were very narrow and limited in their Materials. They had little Compass of Subject to enlarge upon, either as to the Number or Greatness of their Princes; or the great Monuments which they had left behind them, to be the Subjects of their first Histories.

From this I should think, that none of their Pyramids were then built. For those would have been very memorable Materials on which to write, as they far surpassed the Grandeur of any Works of Man, ever known in the World. It would be very natural to believe the Grandeur of that Prince, and the Multitude and Wealth of that People, who could have executed such a Fabric, of such stupendous Strength and Dimensions: Like Mountains raised on a Plain, by the Art of Man, seeming almost to rival the Works of Nature

Nature itself. To build a Pyramid, was a greater Work than to conquer a Kingdom, and would furnish Matter for History very copious; and Evidence of its Truth undeniable, by the Existence of the Pyramid, whether it was with or without an Inscription: That is, it would prove that the Prince and Nation must have been great and potent, who could perform such a Work.

(5.) As there could be no Record of long Antiquity among them, not even in Tradition, and as their whole Story must be crowded within a very narrow Space of Time, as we have said, it must have begun with *Shishac*, or *Sesostris*, their first Hero. For they could have no Remembrance but of him, or the Princes his Predecessors in a few Descents, who expelled the Pastors out of *Egypt*, and reduced it to one Kingdom or Monarchy. These indeed they may be supposed to remember by competent Tradition; but further than this they could not go: And yet this small Length of Time would not answer their Vanity, if they begun to aspire after any Glory of Antiquity.

(6.) I cannot therefore but apprehend, that they would not be hasty in their first Attempts of writing History. Their first Essay would be in writing Memoirs of the glorious Reign of *Sisac* or *Sesostris*, in recording his numerous and extensive Conquests; and enumerating the several Particulars of his Triumphs Abroad; and his useful Labours at Home; in methodizing the Empire which was now of so vast Extent; in dividing the original Monarchy of *Egypt* into Nomes; building Cities and Temples in it, and regulating their Government and Religion. This would be full Employment for them at first, in exercising themselves in their new Art of Writing. And this is agreeable to an old Tradition they have received from their Priests, that *Thoth*, the Secretary of *Osiris*, was their first Writer, and the Inventor of *Letters*. So that according to the Sentiments of the ancient *Egyptians*, their first Writing was in the Days of *Osiris*, that is, in the Days of *Sesac*.

The Opinion therefore which we are advancing, is most agreeable to the ancient *Egyptian* History, and at least not inconsistent with the Old Testament.

S E C T. VI.

On the Original of Hero Worship in Egypt.

IT appears to me highly probable, that *Sesac* or *Sesostris* was the original Inventor and Author of *deifying* Kings, or any mortal Men; and that he was the first who instituted that gross Superstition of the Worship of *Hero* Gods in *Egypt*.

(1.) I have attempted to prove in a former Part of this Work, that *Hero-Worship* was not brought into Use in *Egypt*, before the Exodus, or the Giving of the Law. And I hope it will appear very probable, from what I have urged.

urged in the last Sections, that the *Egyptian* Nation was, for a considerable Time after the Exodus, an obscure People; and that they had no considerable Monarch among them that was like to be honoured with this egregious Flattery of a Deification; or was like to assume such a Prerogative, as the deifying himself; so that this Madness is hereby brought down to near this Age of *Sesac*, according to the Course of the Old Testament History.

But, (2.) He himself was called among the *Greek* Historians, by the Name of *Bacchus*, and his Father was *Jupiter*, by *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*. So that here we have a regular Chronology of his Age gathered from Genealogies, which is I think a most certain Way of determining the most ancient Chronology: "That *Bacchus* was Contemporary with *Sesostris*; and "that both of them were Kings of *Egypt*, and each of them potent at Sea, "and great Conquerors; and that they each of them carried on their Con- "quests into *India* and *Thrace*," the Father of Chronology, Sir *Isaac Newton*, has made out very clearly from ancient Authors; and has from hence proved that they must have been one and the same Man.*

(3.) By comparing the *Egyptian* Line of Kings in *Herodotus*, with the Succession of the Kings of *Judah* in the Old Testament, it will appear that *Bacchus* or *Sesostris* must have been the same Person with *Sesac*, in the *Hebrew* Scriptures; since they were Contemporaries, and such similar Actions are recorded concerning them both. For *Sesac* went out on a great Expedition, with a very numerous Army, consisting of Troops of all Nations, which implied that he or his Ancestors had conquered those Countries before, whose National Troops he had along with him in his Grand Army, 2 *Chron.* xii. 3. And the *Lybians* and *Ethiopians*, and *Troglodytes* were conquered partly by his Father, and partly by *Sisac*, when he was his Father's General, as the *Pagan* Historians relate concerning *Sesostris*, or *Osiris*.†

Now as this Hero was by the *Greeks* called *Bacchus*, the Son of *Jupiter*, we gather that his own Actions were esteemed the Actions of one of the Gods, and that himself was of this celestial Descent also, his Father being deified as well as himself. It is from this Argument further probable, that Deification came in about this Age, either in his own, or in his Father's Time. And how ample a Field would there be in a little Time after this, for all the fabulous Augmentations and Embellishments of History!

(4.) It must be considered, that there must probably have been a great Lustre and particular Eminence in the Exploits and Atchievements of that Prince, who should first have presumed to arrogate this singular and superior Dignity to himself, of being called a God, or of having his Race and Family deified. *Herodotus* accordingly observes, that there had been nothing of a shining and conspicuous Glory in their Actions before *Sesostris*.

But

* Sir *Isaac Newt.* *Empire. Egypt.* p. 187, 188. *Octav. Edit.*

† Vid. *Newt. Empire. Egypt.* p. 217. *Octav. Edit.* *Diodor. Sic. Lib. I. cap. 4.*

But this *victorious* Prince was like enough to be intoxicated with his Successes over so many Nations, and the dilating his Power over such an Extent of Territory. And as he was the greatest Potentate that till that Time had been in the World, so we may well believe, that his Flatterers would nourish in him all the Exorbitancy of his Passions. And if the diseased Tumours of his Pride should happen to break forth in such offensive Corruption as this, that he would be called a God, and also would deify all his Family, the Lustre of his Actions, and the Glare and Noise of his Grandeur would silence those, who would have objected against this unheard-of Species of atheistical Greatness; and his profligate Flatterers would be apt to applaud it: For they had been accustomed to worship material Things, as the Sun, Moon, Earth, Air, the River, &c. and even their material Representations before; such as Images of Cows, Bulls, Goats, and other Animals, Insects, Reptiles and Vermin, and perhaps even the Animals themselves.

(5.) Their Notions of Deity being so incorrect, and even absurd at that Time, it is still a less Wonder that they should fall in with that *impious* Proposal of worshipping great Conquerors, who had already worshipped a Cow or Calf, a Goat or a Cat, or their Images, which should seem to be as *impious*, and as foolish.

(6.) What Honour they had been accustomed to pay to those Idols before, he could now pay to Hero Gods. He could give them the Name of Gods, which had been before bestowed on those mean Symbols of the Sun and Moon, the Image of the Cow, Goat, Bull, and the like. He could consecrate Temples to their Honour; ordain the offering Sacrifices and Oblations to them; and it would be as good Sense to offer *Petitions* to them, that they would be favourable to their Worshipers in all the Emergencies of their Affairs, as it would be to offer them to a Cow, a Cat, or a Monkey, or the Image of these Brutes.—Again; they would be readily induced to think that the Souls of their Heroes after Death, were translated among the Stars, which were their other Gods. And it would be easy to persuade those Idolaters, that those Princes, who had once had public Spirit, a Love of their Country, and the like, might still retain as much of those public Affections, as they could intelligibly ascribe to the Sun or Moon, to a Star or a Storm, to Fire or Water, or any other Element which had been already deified.

A late Writer * alledges, that there was no Hero Worship in the World, till there were universal Monarchies, or great Conquerors, or what he calls, Imperial Heroes and Lords of the World, who aspired to this absurd Eminence of being deified. But whatever there may be in that, I would proceed to remark,

(7.) That there are pretty clear Proofs that the Age of *Sesostris* was reckoned the Age of the Gods of *Egypt*. When he returned from his nine Years victorious Expedition, he divided *Egypt* by Measure among the
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* Examination of Divine Legation, by a Society of Gentlemen.

Egyptians; * which, as *Herodotus* says, was reckoned the Beginning of Geometry. And *Sir Isaac Newton*, p. 221. observes that *Jamblichus* derived this Division of *Egypt* and Beginning of Geometry, from the Age of the Gods of *Egypt*.† *Sesostris* also divided *Egypt* into 36 Divisions, which they called *Nomes*, and dug a Canal from the *Nile* to the Head City of every *Nome*;‡ and with the Earth dug out, he caused the Ground of the City to be raised higher, and built a Temple in every City, for the Worship of the *Nome*, and in the Temples he set up Oracles. And by this Means the *Egyptians* of every *Nome* were induced to worship the great Men of the Kingdom, to whom the *Nome*, the City, and the Temple, or Sepulchre of the God was dedicated: For every Temple had its proper God, and Modes of Worship and annual Festivals. But as our great Author observes, *Sesac* and his *Queen* under the Names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, were worshipped in all *Egypt*, *Newt.* p. 221.

There is a further Argument to prove that *Osiris* and *Bacchus* were the same, taken from *Diodorus Siculus*. He says that *Thymetes*,|| who was Contemporary with *Orpheus*, wrote a Poem called *Phrygia*, of the Actions of *Bacchus*, in very old Language and Character. He informs us that *Bacchus* had *Lybian* Women in his Army. That *Bacchus* commanded the Men, and *Minerva* the Women. *Diodorus* calls her *Miryna*, and says she was Queen of the *Amazons* in *Lybia*, where she conquered the *Atlantides* and *Gorgons*, and then made a League with *Orus*, Son of *Isis*, sent to her by his Father *Osiris*, or *Bacchus*, for this Purpose. That passing thro' *Egypt*, they subdued the *Arabians*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and came thro' *Phrygia*, viz. in the Army of *Bacchus*, to the *Mediterranean*: But passing over into *Europe*, she was slain, with many of her Women, by the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, under the Conduct of *Sipylus* a *Scythian*, and *Mopsus* a *Thracian*, whom *Lycurgus* King of *Thrace* had banished. This was that *Lycurgus* who opposed the Passage of *Bacchus* over the *Hellepont*, and was soon after slain by him. But afterwards *Bacchus* met with a Repulse from the *Greeks* under the Conduct of *Perseus*, who slew many of his Women, as *Pausanias* relates. § Which Repulses, together with a Revolt of his Brother *Danaus* in *Egypt*, put a Stop to his Victories; and in returning Home, he left Part of his Men at *Cholcis*, and his Women at the River *Thermodon*, under their new Queens *Marthesia* and *Lampeto*: For *Diodorus*, speaking of the *Amazons* who were seated at *Thermodon*,** says, that they dwelt originally in *Lybia*, and reigned over the *Atlantides*, and afterwards invading their Neighbours, conquered as far as *Europe*. And *Ammianus* says, that the ancient *Amazons*, breaking thro' many Nations, attacked the *Athenians*, and there receiving a great Defeat, retired to *Thermodon*.†† And *Justin*||| says, that these *Amazons* had at first, he means at their first Coming to *Thermodon*, two Queens, that they conquered

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* *Herod.* Lib. II. c. 109. † *Jamblich. Vit. Pythag.* c. 29. ‡ *Diod. Sic.* Lib. I. c. 4.
 || *Diodor.* Lib. III. c. 4. p. 141. *Sir Is. Newt. Emp. Egypt.* p. 190. *Edit.* 8vo. § *Pausan.*
 Lib. II. c. 20. p. 155. ** *Diod. Sic.* Lib. III. c. 4. p. 130. †† *Ammian.* Lib. XXII. c. 8.
 ||| *Justin.* Lib. II. c. 4.

Part of *Europe*, and some Cities of *Asia*, viz. in the Reign of *Minerva*, and then sent back Part of their Army with a great Booty, under their said new Queens; and that *Marthesia* being afterwards slain, was succeeded by her Daughter *Oritbya*, and she by *Penthesilea*; and that *Theseus* captivated and married *Antiope*, the Sister of *Oritbya*. *Hercules* made War upon the *Amazons*, and in the Reign of *Oritbya* and *Penthesilea*, they came to the *Trojan War*: Whence the first Wars of the *Amazons* in *Europe* and *Asia*, and their Settling at *Thermodon*, were but one Generation before those Actions of *Theseus* and *Hercules*, and but two before the *Trojan War*; and so fell in with the Expedition of *Sesostris*: And since they warred in the Days of *Isis* and her Son *Orus*, and were in the Army of *Bacchus*, or *Osiris*, the Husband of *Isis*, we have a further Argument for making *Osiris* and *Bacchus* = *Sesostris*, and all three one and the same King with *Sesac*.

Again; as the *Greeks* reckon both *Osiris* and *Bacchus* the Sons of *Jupiter*, and as the *Egyptian* Name of *Jupiter* is *Ammon*, so *Manetho*, in his 11th and 12th Dynasties, as he is cited by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, names these four Kings of *Egypt*, as reigning in Order one after another: 1. *Ammenemes*, and, 2. *Sesonchoris* his Son; 3. *Ammenemes*, who was slain by his Eunuchs; and, 4. *Sesostris*, who subdued all *Asia*. Here *Sesonchoris* is corruptly written for *Sesonchosis*; and the two first of these four Kings, *Ammenemes* and *Sesonchosis*, are the same with the two last *Ammenemes* and *Sesostris*, that is, with *Ammon* and *Sesac*.*

Again; there are other Proofs of *Osiris*, who was *Sesostris* and *Sesac*, being concerned in these Instances of Deification; for *Diodorus* expressly tells us, that *Osiris* built in *Thebes* a magnificent Temple to his Parents *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and that he dedicated two Golden Altars or Tabernacles, the greater to *Jupiter-Uranus*, and the other to his Father *Jupiter-Ammon*, who reigned in that City; † which intimates that he was among the first Authors of Hero Worship. And *Thymætes*, above-mentioned, wrote expressly, that the Father of *Bacchus* was *Ammon*, a King reigning over Part of *Lybia*, that is, a King of *Egypt*, who reigned over that Part of *Lybia*, anciently called *Ammonia*. ‡

Sesostris conquered much in his Father's Life-time; and after he was dead, he built Temples to him in the conquered Provinces. Hence it came to pass, that *Jupiter-Ammon* was worshipped in *Ammonia*, *Æthiopia* and *Arabia*, where *Sesostris* carried on his first Conquests in his Father's Life-time. For, I think, this Father of *Sesostris* or *Sesac*, was the first Mortal deified under the Name of *Ammon*, and not *Ham* the Son of *Noah*, whose Name and History was blotted out in *Egypt*, long before this Reign of Deification, and Age of the Gods of *Egypt*.

Again; the last of the Gods of *Egypt* was *Orus* the Son of *Osiris*, and his Mother *Isis* and Sister *Bubaste*, and Secretary *Thoth*, and Uncle *Typhon*; and

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* Sir Isaac Newton, p. 192. Edit. 8vo. † Diod. Sic. Lib. I. c. 1. ‡ Newton, p. 192, 193.

tho' *Osiris* was dead, yet these, who were deified after him, were probably thus dignified according to his Nomination, and upon the Authority of his Institution.

Now, as the *first* of these Gods of *Egypt* was *Jupiter-Ammon*, the Father of *Osiris* or *Sesac*, and the *last* of them was his Son *Orus*, and the other principal Branches of his Imperial Family, it cannot well be denied, but that this was the very Age of Deification, and this great Prince the Author of it. For since there were none *before* his Father, nor *after* his Son, it is plain it must have been the wonderful Production of that one Age.

* *Diodorus* also says, that *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*, the second of that Name, was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Io*, Daughter of *Inachus*, that he reigned in *Egypt*, and there taught the Manner of Divine Worship and Sacrifices. Now we cannot think that they believed, that this was the first Instance of their having any Religious Worship among them. But their particularly mentioning this concerning *Bacchus*, seems to intimate that he made some memorable Alteration in their Worship; and taught them many new Services of that Kind, which may imply his instituting Hero Worship, which by other Writers, or on other Occasions, is ascribed to *Bacchus* or *Osiris*.

And his dividing all *Egypt* into 36 *Nomes*, and in the Capital of each *Nome*, building a Temple, and dedicating it to some new God, seems further to intimate, that these were not dedicated to any of their old Sydereal or Elementary Deities, but to his own Family, or his great Generals who had attended him in his victorious Expedition; and that by making 36 Temples, he fixed what the Number of the *Egyptian* Gods should be, both their great Gods and Demi-gods.

And I think, that this explains the Distinction betwixt their great Gods and Demi-gods. Their great Gods were their Kings themselves, and the Demi-gods, were the Gods of the *Nomes*, or the Generals, Counsellors, and Fellow-Soldiers of *Sesostris*, to whom he dedicated the Temples of the *Nomes*.

S E C T. VII.

That the Original of this Fable of the Reigns of the Gods in the Primitive Ages of the Egyptian Monarchy, is to be carried no higher than the Reign of Shishac.

THE absurd Affectation of Antiquity, among the *Egyptians*, has generally astonished the inquisitive World, tho' it hath not, in their own Accounts of it, given them any competent Satisfaction; not even the *Pagans* themselves, much less the Christians or *Jews*.

But

* *Diodor. Sic. Lib. III. cap. 4. p. 145.*

But it hath not, that I know of, been ever suspected to have so recent an Original as the Reign of *Sesac*, or to be any thing *near* so low a Date, as that to which we are now attempting to reduce it. All the Stories which the Priests related to *Herodotus*, or have been further repeated by *Manetho*, as to the *Number of Years* which were spent under the Reigns of their Gods, have been; by all our Chronologers, rejected as Fable, which they indeed obviously were; but they have not attempted to give any Account of their *Rise*, or to give these Fables any historical Confutation, by explaining their Original; or shewing when they begun. And many great Men have so strenuously espoused the Opinion of the high Antiquity of *Hero Worship*, carrying it far back into the *Antediluvian* Ages, that it is not much Wonder that this Way of accounting for the Introduction of the ancient Reigns of their Gods did not occur to them.

I must therefore be content to stand or fall alone in this new Attempt, to account for these amazing Peculiarities of the *Egyptian* Antiquaries. Impudently fabulous they indeed were, especially in the enormous *Length* of their *Computations*, ascribed to the Reigns of their Gods; yet, *otherwise*, they have not so great Amplification, as at first View, they seem to have. But I humbly conceive, if the *Egyptian* Antiquities had been less regarded, and depended on, and greater Deference had been paid to *Moses*, not only as a Divine Lawgiver, but an accurate Historian; and if more Pains had been employed in considering this Divine Author, as an Historian of the most correct Class, who never omitted any Thing necessary to illustrate his Story; so many great Men, as have been engaged in this Enquiry, would not have plunged so long, with such unsuccessful Labour, in such an Abyss of Absurdity, Superstition and Fable, the very Chaos of History, without being able to compose out of all, a regular Body of Records. If instead of labouring to make *Truth* and *Sense* out of the *Pagan* Fables of *Herodotus* or *Diodorus's* Priests, and the Dynasties of *Manetho*, or even the Lists of *Eratoſthenes*, which are each almost as much void of the one as the other: If Men had been content to believe them Fables, as much destitute of Integrity in the Authors, as of Truth in the Facts reported, they would not with such injudicious, and even culpable Credulity, have set about supporting and clearing Fables; they would have confuted them as fictitious; and been content with being ignorant of those Periods, in which they have no History to give them any Informations.

But in this our Attempt for clearing and explaining the Rise of the boldest Fictions in all the History of *Egypt*, we have again genuine History with which to set out, tho' we must be constrained to acquiesce in some *Conjectures*, in our arguing from these *Historical* Premises, by which we endeavour to come at our Conclusions.

The Historical Passages are such as these which follow; namely,

1. *Egypt* was once a Country famous for *Learning*; even for that Learning

in which *Moses* was educated. And yet I hope we have proved it greatly probable, that *Moses* had not any Knowledge of *Letters*; for he stood in Need of an extraordinary and miraculous Instructor in that simple Art.

2. Another clear Fact was, that most of the principal *Egyptians* perished in the *Red Sea*.

Now, (1.) If from these Facts we may infer that the Learning of *Egypt*, at that Time, consisted only in the Knowledge of Traditions and verbal Teaching either of History or the Sciences, which was all that *Moses* knew.

Then, (2.) We may infer further, that their chief Learning, that is, the History or Traditions of their Affairs, must have perished in the Overthrow of their King and the great Men at the *Red Sea*; and if it did, it was irrecoverable among themselves.

(3.) Another clear Fact in History is, that the *Egyptians* might have had a good Opportunity of becoming acquainted with the *Hebrew* Learning and Antiquities, at the Time of *Solomon's* Marriage with *Pharaoh's* Daughter. That they did *before*, or had an Opportunity *before*, is not evident; but that they had an Opportunity *then*, is evident, from this Historical Testimony. And from this Fact we may fairly infer, that the Learning in *Egypt* must probably greatly revive at that Time.

(4.) From the *Egyptian* History it is plain, that the Secretary of *Osiris* could write; and it is expressly said that he was the *first Writer* among them. From which we may infer, that they did obtain the Knowledge of *Letters* only in *Solomon's* Reign, the next Reign before *Shishac's* or *Osiris's*.

(5.) From the *Egyptian* History, it is at least highly probable, that *Shishac* or *Sesostris*, or *Osiris* or *Bacchus*, which are but different Names for the same Prince, was the *first* who instituted *Hero Worship* there. For his Father was the *first* deified King of *Egypt*, and his Son was the *last*; so that their Hero Gods were all the Production of that Age.

Now, considering this State of Things in *Egypt*, which appears chiefly from the History of *Moses*, it must be most natural to think, that they could have no Accounts of their old Traditions remaining among them, after that fatal Disaster at the *Red Sea*. It must therefore imply a great *Credulity* to expect to find the *Egyptian Menes*, who reigned next after the Gods, contemporary with the *Misraim* of *Moses*, (or *Ham*, according to Sir *John Marsham*) and the other Kings his Lineal Successors in the Dynasties of *Manetho*, so as regularly to fill up historical Time, from the settling *Egypt*, to its Fall in the *Persian* Times. There is far more *Credulity* in believing that such exact Accounts of those ancient Ages should be preserved by any *Traditions*, when it is at least dubious whether there was *Writing* or not; than there is in believing that all the Memory of *Misraim's* planting *Egypt* might be lost in the *Red Sea*, or before that Event.

Again; there is much more *Credulity* in believing that there should be such perfect History written from the Days of *Menes* or *Misraim*, to the Days of *Eratosthenes*, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, the third King of *Egypt* after

after *Alexander*, than there is in believing that *Eratosthenes* might, out of the Old Testament Numbers, compute the Time from *Misraim*, and then fill up his List of *Theban* Kings out of *Manetko*, with Names of Kings and Numbers of Years in the several Reigns, so as to answer nearly to the Computation of Time from *Misraim's* Age, which he had made out of the Septuagint Version, then in his keeping, to the Period where he ended his celebrated List or Catalogue.

Again ; there is more *Credulity* in believing that Letters were known in *Egypt* before the Exodus, than there is in believing that they were first discovered at Mount *Sinai* ; for there is no History that asserts the former ; and I think *Moses* relates the latter in Terms equivalent to an express Assertion ; unless it be a sufficient Proof of Credulity to believe *Moses*.

I acknowledge that my Notions of the *Original of Letters*, and the Season of their Propagation to the *Heathen* World, have (by what appeared to me their obvious Consequences) led me on to these more contracted Apprehensions of *Pagan* History ; and particularly, to this Way of accounting for the Fables of *Egyptian* Antiquity. From this View of their Rise, the Occasion of their being invented will be more discernible. They seem to have been put upon these Fables by these two joint Causes ; namely, the Poverty of Materials for History, in their own National Affairs, and their extreme Vanity in aspiring after Precedency in Antiquity for which they had not any Pretension. And I question not, but if this Thought about the Original of Letters, and the Time of their Propagation, had happened to occur to them, and been pursued by them ; those great and learned Enquirers, who have gone before me in these Studies, such as *Eusebius*, *Scaliger*, *Usher*, *Jameson*, *Perizonius*, or *Cumberland* ; could scarce have left so many Things in the Dark on this Subject, as seem yet to require further clearing.

But now, if they had no Letters in *Egypt* before the Exodus, then their Learning must have consisted in verbal Teaching, and so might have perished with their Teachers in the *Red Sea* ; and if they did not obtain the Knowledge of Letters before *Solomon's* Reign, then their History could not begin till *Sesac's* Reign : And, if he was the Author of Hero Worship, and the first who deified their Kings, then their History must begin either with the Reigns of the Gods, or those mortal Kings who came next after the Gods, which is very near the Model of the History of *Herodotus*.

Now, if there be a competent Foundation for this Opinion, that *Sesac* was the first Institutor of Hero Worship, then we may conclude that those Kings, who were deified, would soon be esteemed their *first* Kings on their Records, and there would be no presuming to seek for any other Kings *before* the Gods. To make this divine Catalogue of their deified Kings the more venerable, they might superadd to them the Names of their ancient Gods ; thus his Father *Ammon* might be called *Jupiter-Ammon* ; *Isis* be called by the Name of some other old Sydereal Deity, and so of the rest. But from what

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we have here urged, it will be very probable that the Reign of *Sesac* was the Time from which we are to reckon the Commencement of the Reigns of the *Egyptian* Gods.

S E C T. VIII.

On the Time of the proper Beginning of the Egyptian History and Records.

(1.) **I**T is very obvious, that the Time or Age of the World when the *Egyptians* began to write Records, could not be till after they had learned the Art of *Writing*. And, if they did not attain the Knowledge of *Letters*, till the Reign of *Solomon*, their Records could not begin before that Reign. But it is not necessary to suppose that they must begin to draw up Records immediately after they had attained the Art of *Writing*. It was so late in the World when they came acquainted with *Letters*, and they found that their own Nation was so much more ancient, according to the *Hebrew* Monuments, than they themselves had any domestic, national Evidence of, that they would be apt to pause and consider how or where they should set out, most advantageously for their own Glory, in dating their own Records. They might be reasonably supposed to employ their first Skill in exercising themselves in the Art of *Writing* and Composition, in some Speculations and Curiosities, that might be introductory to the grand Work of drawing up their History.

(2.) There would be insuperable Difficulties in their Writing on such recent Affairs, as the Time of setting up or instituting Hero Gods just in that Age when Men could remember it. But as they had a great Affectation of much recondite Learning and Mystery in Religion, so they incorporated those Mysteries about the Nature and Origin of their Gods, into their History; by which Scheme it must be necessary for them not to write their National History soon after they could write; but they must wait till those were dead, who could remember *Sesostri's* Wars, and his Deifications. But, when they had been accustomed for a few Generations, to worship those Gods, they would familiarize to their Thoughts an exalted Veneration for them, and they would mellow with Time, so that they would soon come to believe them very ancient; and after they had a while worshipped them as Gods, they would readily believe them the *first Beings* among them, or that their Reigns were from the Beginning.

(3.) Now this would clear them of all Difficulties in accounting for ancient Time; it was but persuading themselves, that their primitive Ages were spent during the Reigns of the Gods, and this reconciled all. It concealed all their Ignorance of past Times; so that tho' they had but a few Names
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of Kings to enumerate, but a few great Actions to particularize, or recount, yet they would gradually accustom themselves to be satisfied with this Solution of all their Difficulties. And tho' it would give them but little Satisfaction at first, while the Deifications were recent, yet they would then be satisfied with what they knew to be the *real Truth*, viz. that they had no Writing before such an Age, about which Time the Deifications took Place; and this would give them a rational Account, why the *Egyptian* History was so late a Thing. And in this they must have been entirely easy, since they knew the Truth of it.

(4.) But when several Centuries after, (which they had not perhaps taken Care to set down in Years in their Records) *Herodotus* came to enquire after their Antiquities, and inform himself of the History and greatest Curiosities of that Country, they readily put him off with the Primitive Reigns of their Gods, during so many Thousands of Years, as a satisfactory Account of their highest Antiquity; when their happy Ages were spent under the gentle Dominion, and particular Government of their Gods.

(5.) It is further clear by this Information, which they had so ready at Hand to give this curious inquisitive Stranger, that they had been gradually magnifying their Antiquities, not only by the Computations of the Duration ascribed to the Reigns of the Gods; but also by the Enlargement of the Time of the mortal Reigns. As *Herodotus* was told that from the first King, that is, of mortal Race, to *Sethon*, who fought against *Sennacherib*, there had been 341 Generations of Men; that 300 Generations are Ten thousand Years; for they compute three Generations to 100 Years. And that it was so long a Space of Time since any God had appeared in human Shape, or reigned in *Egypt*.*

When *Herodotus*, therefore, received from the Priests an Account of a large Number of successive Kings, without specifying their Actions, he did not name them in his History, probably taking them to be fabulous Kings and Reigns.

But as this Notion of *deified Men* was grown so familiar to the Ears of a *Greek*, both from the Poems of *Orpheus*, *Hesiod* and *Homer*, so this Account of their Antiquity passed well enough with him, as to that Part of it which was spent under the Reigns of the Gods; tho' what he must think about the *Length* of their Computations it is hard to imagine.

However, (6.) when their Ignorance of all past Times was by this Pretence so smoothly covered; and when, by this Device of the Reigns of the Gods, they had expunged out of their Records, all those Ages which were Blanks in their History, and of which they had no Accounts to give, and of which they were no longer ashamed to be ignorant, having accounted for so high an Antiquity, as that of 20,000 Years spent under the Government of their Gods. Having, I say, hereby attained to a Duration of their Monarchy
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* *Herod. Euterp. cap. 142.*

above the Competition of any other State or Nation, they might very well begin with known Historic Time; and proceed in the History of those Princes which had actually reigned, after the Time of the Arrival of Letters in *Egypt*. And accordingly,

(7.) When *Herodotus* came among them, he was told by the Priests, that the very *first* King of mortal Race, who reigned next after the Gods, was *Menes*.* And that he meant that this Reign was next after the Gods, appears from what he says in *Cap. 144.* that they carried him into a great Hall, and shewed him a great Number of *Colossean Statues*, which had corresponding to them, each a *Piromis*, immediately propagated by, and descending from another *Piromis* in Lineal Succession, to the Number of 345. But that they did not ascribe this Name of *Piromis* to any of the Gods or Heroes. For that, prior to these Men, the Gods reigned in *Egypt*, and inhabited among Men, one of them being always, for a Time, the King or Chief Governor. And that the *last* of these Gods, who held the Government, was *Orus*, the Son of *Osiris*, whom the *Greeks* call *Apollo*; who after he had killed *Typhon*, was the *last* who reigned in *Egypt*. After whom came *Menes*, the *first* King, *i. e.* the first mortal King.

I have indeed been wont to think, that this *Piromis* was the common Name for the Chief-Priest, but on a more careful Examination of the Words of *Herodotus*†, I now think that these *Colossean Statues* represented their Kings; and that the Chief-Priests were represented by more minute Statues, nearly representing their Figures when alive, but not in the Manner of *Colossi*. And the Priests of *Jupiter* arguing against *Hecataeus*, is upon this Supposition, that they were speaking of their mortal Kings, not their Priests. And that the *Colossi*, each of them represented *Piromis*, or Kings, who succeeded each other in ordinary Generation, that is another *Piromis*.

This Name *Piromis* being an *Egyptian* Word, seems to point to the Name *Pharaoh*, given to their Kings.‡ It is explained by *Herodotus*, to signify *Noble and Good*; which was, I think, a Name of Adulation and high Compliment appropriated to their Monarchs, but that this Name was only given to their Kings of mortal Race, as *Herodotus* says. So that I should think our Author understood his Priests as reporting that one *Piromis*, or one *Pharaoh*, had succeeded another in Hereditary Succession, from Father to Son, for so many Generations, on the Throne of *Egypt*; that this was the common Name for all their Kings of mortal Race in all this long Succession.

* *Herod. Euterp. c. 4, 99. and c. 144.*
Origin. Ægypt. p. 394. cap. 21.

† *Herod. Lib. II. c. 143, 144.*

‡ *Perizen.*

C H A P. XVIII.

On the History of the Empire of Egypt from Sesostris or Sefac, to its Fall.

S E C T. I.

That a tolerable Account of the Monarchy of Egypt, from Sefac to its being weakened by Revolts and Divisions, may be deduced from Herodotus, as his Catalogue is rectified by Sir ISAAC NEWTON.

(1.) **HERODOTUS** is the most ancient Author on *Egyptian* Affairs of all the *Pagans*; and he seems to have been a faithful Reporter of such Things as were related to him by their Priests. He chiefly applied to them, as they were the Keepers of all their Antiquities and sacred Records, deposited in their Temples. And tho' it is evident by the Hints which he interspersth, that they had not only greatly magnified their Antiquity, by the enormous Sum of above 20,000 Years, which they reckoned to the Reigns of their Gods; but they had also augmented them to an unreasonable Length, even during the Reigns of their mortal Kings, who all begun to reign after the Gods. For they counted from the first King *Menes*, to the Time of *Setbon*, 340 Generations of Monarchs in Lineal Descent, betwixt those two Princes, which were about 11000 Years, according to their computing Generations.

(2.) It appears by their best Authors, that *Orus*, the Son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, was the last of the Gods, and that the next after him was *Menes*, as *Herodotus* calls him; and all the Writers of the *Dynasties* of *Egypt* place *Menes* as the first in all their Lists. Now *Herodotus*, by saying he was the first King, and *Orus* the last of the Gods, must mean, or the Priests who informed him must mean, that he was the first King whose Name was found on their Records, and from whom they calculated their Succession of Princes in their Monarchy.

(3.) And it is very remarkable, that he beginneth from that Reign to relate the great Actions of their Monarchs. For this *Menes* is said to have performed several great Works, and to have lived in an active Age. He built the City of *Memphis* in a most convenient Situation, at the Head of the *Delta*, where the *Nile* divides itself into several Branches, whereby *Memphis* being at the Junction of these Branches, commands all the Shipping that come up the River.* He also turned the River into a new Channel, which had in a great Branch flowed along the Mountains towards *Libya*, before. He cast up a mighty Rampart of Earth at the Turning of the River, and built a Bridge over it, by which he made a commodious Way to the City. He also built the magnificent Temple of *Vulcan* in *Memphis*. All these Works of *Menes* are related † by *Herodotus*.

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(4.) But

* *Diodor. Lib. I. c. 4.* † *Herod. Euterp. c. 99.*

(4.) But now being entered on the Historic Times of the *Egyptians*, we must endeavour to find out who this *Menes* was in the synchronal Persons of the *Hebrew History*. According to the *Egyptian Writers*, he reigned next after the Son of *Shishac*, and therefore he must be contemporary with *Asa*, the Grandson of *Rehoboam*, in the *Hebrew History*. The only Prince of *Egypt*, mentioned in the Scripture about that Time, was *Zerab* the *Ethiopian*.

Sir *Isaac Newton* supposes,* “that during the Reign of *Shishac*, *Jeroboam* “was in Subjection to *Egypt*, and therefore set up the Gods of *Egypt* in *Dan* “and *Bethel*: And *Israel* was without the true God, and without the Law; “and in those Times there was no Peace to him that went out, nor to him “that came in, but great Vexations were upon all the Inhabitants of the “Countries; and Nation was destroyed of Nation, and City of City; for “God did vex them with all Adversity,” 2 *Chron.* xv. 3, 5, 6.

Now in *Asa's Days* the Land had Quiet ten Years, 2 *Chron.* xiv. 1. And yet he had War with *Zerab* the *Ethiopian*, before the 15th Year of his Reign, 2 *Chron.* xvi. 10. So that the first five Years of his Reign were not quiet, but had their Share in the Distractions mentioned, 2 *Chron.* xv. 3, 5, 6. But the ten Years which *Judah* enjoyed quiet, was to the 15th Year. For in this Year, or the Year before, *Asa* had a great Battle with *Zerab* the *Ethiopian*. *Zerab* came out against him with 1,000,000 of Men, consisting of *Ethiopians* and *Lybians*.

Now *Zerab* being an *Ethiopian*, who was so formidable to *Asa*, it should seem that *Zerab* had then great Power in *Egypt*. This Event the *Hebrew Historians* do not discover in its Causes, or explain how it happened; but they intimate the Fact, that it was so. For he marched against *Asa* with a mighty Army of *Ethiopians* and *Lybians*. The Way for the *Lybians*, if not the *Ethiopians* also, was necessarily thro' *Egypt*, from their own Country to the Place where the Battle was fought; therefore *Zerab* was then Master of *Egypt*. The Action was near *Gerar*, betwixt *Egypt* and *Judaea*, therefore *Zerab* was an Invader, since he was advanced out of *Egypt*, thro' which he must have marched, towards *Judaea*; whereas *Asa* was only on his own Frontiers, when the Armies met. It was not a War projected or sought by *Asa*, for he considered his own Army as too small to have undertaken such a War, 2 *Chron.* xiv. 11. This was, therefore, only a defensive War on *Asa's* Part.

In this great Difficulty, occasioned by the Silence of *Historians*, to account for that strange Event, that the *Ethiopians* should be Masters of *Egypt*, so soon after *Sesac*; who had himself conquered them in his own Reign, and led an Army composed of them and the *Lybians*, as well as his own native *Egyptians*, 2 *Chron.* xii. 2, 3. from *Egypt*. I say, in this Difficulty, our great Author, Sir *Isaac Newton*, makes a Conjecture, that almost clears the whole Obscurity. He gathers his Intelligence by comparing jointly, Authors that one would scarce expect to see united for Testimony; namely, the

* *Newt. Empir. Egypt.* p. 237. Edit. 8vo. Dublin.

the *Hebrew* History of *Asa's* Reign, and the old Fables of *Paganism* concerning the Wars of the ancient Gods, and with amazing Penetration and a Sagacity peculiar to himself, he gathers an Account, agreeable to the Tenor of the *Hebrew* Story, and even the Words of the Fable of the Wars of the Gods which is consistent and intelligible, and accounts for the *Ethiopians* Power in *Egypt*, as it is related in 2 *Chron.* xiv.

I know not which more to admire, the *Sagacity* with which he discusseth this Difficulty, or the *Modesty* with which he proposes his Solution. "From all this I seem to gather, that *Osiris* was slain in the fifth Year of *Asa*, and thereupon *Egypt* fell into Civil Wars, being invaded by the *Lybians*, and defended by the *Ethiopians* for a Time: And after ten Years more, they were invaded by the *Ethiopians*, who slew *Orus*, the Son and Successor of *Osiris*, and seized his Kingdom."*

Now we are told by *Diodorus*,† that *Osiris* was slain by his Brother *Typhon*; but that his Queen *Isis* and her Son *Orus* revenged his Death, on *Typhon* and his Accomplices. So that there must have been a Civil War in *Egypt*, according to their own Accounts, on so great and exasperating an Occasion as the Murder of the King, by his own Brother. One Party in this War was headed by *Isis* the Queen-Mother, and *Orus* the Prince-Royal, who was then come to the Crown; and the other by *Typhon*, himself one of the Royal Family.

It is reasonable to suppose, that in these Civil Wars, they would each of them have their Confederates among their Neighbours, or call in the conquered Countries, that were nearest at Hand, to make use of.

If we now consult the Poem of *Solon*, which *Plato* has preserved in his *Timæus* and *Critias*, which gives an Account of the ancient Wars of the Gods, as the *Egyptians* reported them to *Solon*, referred to by *Sir Isaac*, p. 231, 232. we shall find that *Neptune* and his Son *Atlas* warred against the Gods, and *Atlas* is always placed in *Afric* or *Lybia*. This Part of their History explains the Invasion of the *Lybians*.

We are told by *Diodorus Siculus*,‡ that when *Osiris* set out on his grand Expedition, he appointed his Queen *Isis* Regent of the Kingdom, *Mercury* her chief Counsellor, *Hercules* his near Kinsman, General of the Forces left in the Kingdom, and *Antæus* Governor of *Lybia*, a conquered Country. By this *Hercules*, *Sir Isaac Newton* understands the General of *Thebais*, and he might have *Ethiopia* under him, as being a Province nearly adjacent, and therefore this *Ethiopia* must lie to the South of *Thebais*: "These, the Gods, or great Men of *Egypt*, who adhered to *Isis*, called in to their Assistance, against the Giants or great Men of *Lybia*, who had slain *Osiris*, or were Confederates with *Typhon* in that execrable Parricide."

In these Wars of the Gods, *Hercules* took the *Lybian* World from *Antæus*, or *Atlas*. He defeated him several Times, and every Time he grew stronger

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by

* *Newt.* p. 238. *Edit. Dublin.* † *Diodor. Sic. Lib. I. c. 2.* ‡ *Diodor. Lib. I. c. 2.*

by Recruits from *Lybia*, his Mother-Earth, but *Hercules* intercepted his Recruits, and at last slew him.

So that by this War of the Gods and Giants, we may understand the Civil Wars in *Egypt*, occasioned by the Murder of *Osiris*. *Hercules*, with his native *Egyptians* of *Thebais*, taking to him the Forces of the conquered Country of *Ethiopia*, defended *Egypt* for some Time, which was invaded by the *Lybians*, the Partizans of *Typhon*, under *Atlas*. But after ten Years, the *Ethiopians*, with their own King at their Head, revolting from *Oris*, invaded *Egypt*, and defeated and slew *Orus* the Son of *Osiris*, and seized his Dominions.

Here the History of the Old Testament is explained, by the *Egyptian* Fables of the Wars of the ancient Gods. This War, which must have been a Civil War in *Egypt*, diverted the *Egyptians* from annoying their Neighbours. For at this Time *Judab* had Rest ten Years, and *Asa* greatly strengthened himself, fortified his Country, and raised a powerful Army. But when *Zerab*, with his *Ethiopians*, had defeated and slain *Orus*, and taken Possession of *Egypt*, as the Bible tells us, he seems to have formed a Design to extend his Power over all the Tributary Provinces of the *Egyptian* Monarchy. And accordingly first set out, as *Sesac* had done before him, against the Kingdom of *Judab*, which was now grown strong, and too potent to be likely to be quiet as a Tributary Nation.

In this Attempt *Zerab* and his vast Army met with such a signal Defeat, that he could not recover himself, for undertaking any further Designs against *Asa*; tho' he was now become Lord of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, as well as his own Country, which had shook off the *Egyptian* Yoke before.

This Reduction of *Zerab's* Strength did however encourage the People of the *Lower Egypt*, about *Heliopolis* and its Vicinity, who were perhaps the Remnant of *Orus's* Party, to revolt from *Zerab*, and their new Masters the *Ethiopians*; and collecting a great Force under one *Osarsipbus*, a Priest of *Heliopolis*, (whom *Manetho* calls also *Hercules Egyptius*) this Party of *Egyptians* invited to their Assistance 200,000 *Jews*, which were probably Part of *Asa's* victorious Army, as *Osarsipbus* was probably the old *Egyptian* General, (for he is called by the same Name, by *Manetho*) who might survive the Overthrow of *Orus*.

This Story *Manetho* relates, but with many invidious Circumstances, about their being a leprous polluted Body of People, who called in this Aid of the *Jews*. And he seems to relate these Stories out of Hatred to the *Jews*.* Again further, as it is very probable that the Party of *Zerab* did at last prevail, and *Shishac's* Family was extinguished; so the following Historians might espouse these ignominious Fables concerning this Remnant of the old Party, which joined with the *Jews*, and be treated as reproachfully as the *Jews* were, because of this Confederacy with them.

Manetho

* *Joseph. cont. Ap. Lib. I. Sect. 26, 27, 28, 29.*

Manetho tells many Stories of the King's Frights by Dreams and Predictions; so that he would not fight the Army of the Confederates, since he thought it fighting against the Gods, which seems to import either that he feared the God of the *Jews*, and for this Reason ordered all the Images of the Gods to be hid, perhaps lest the *Jews* should meet with them; or otherwise, that he thought *Osarsiphus's* Party were the Remnant of the *Egyptians* that had adhered to *Isis* and *Orus*. So that he was constrained to retreat to *Memphis*.

This King he calls *Amenophis*, who may be the same Prince which *Herodotus* calls *Menes*, who reigned next after *Orus*, and built *Memphis*. The City *Memphis* seems to retain the Name of this King, *Menoph*, *Amenoph*, *Noph*, or *Moph*.

Our indefatigable Critic, that he may omit nothing that has the Appearance of a Synchronism with the Antiquities of any other Nation, proceeds thus, to connect the Reign of *Menes* with the *Greek* Story.

"*Titbonus*, a beautiful Youth, the elder Brother of *Priamus*, went into
 " *Ethiopia*, being carried thither among many other Captives by *Sesostris*;
 " and the *Greeks* before the Days of *Hesiod* feigned that *Memnon* was his Son.
 " *Memnon* therefore, in the Opinion of those ancient *Greeks*, was one Generation younger than *Titbonus*, and born after *Sesostris's* Return into *Egypt*;
 " suppose about 16 or 20 Years after the Death of *Solomon*. He is said to
 " live long, and so might die about 95 Years after *Solomon*." By this Calculation, *Memnon* will be Contemporary with *Afa*; and it is probable that he was Son of *Zerab*, for *Amenophis* was the King that retired to *Memphis* from *Osarsiphus's* Army, and *Menes* was the King that fortified *Memphis*, as a Pass, betwixt the *Lower* and *Upper Egypt*.

Zerab was therefore probably either slain in Battle, or died before the Revolt of *Osarsiphus* was grown formidable by the Addition of the 200,000 *Jews* to them. It was *Amenophis* who was King of *Egypt*, according to *Manetho*, at the Retreat to *Memphis*, and he might be the Son of *Zerab*, who in the Tumult of a Civil War, might obtain the Sovereignty of *Egypt*, but, being soon after defeated by *Afa*, he never attained to the Name of King of *Egypt*; for Sir *Isaac Newton* thinks, that *Amenophis* begun his Reign in *Egypt*, upon the Defeat of *Zerab*, about the 15th Year of *Afa*.

† We may further gather, that *Amenophis* was an *Ethiopian*, and probably the Son of *Zerab*, because upon his declining to fight the Confederates under *Osarsiphus*, he retired to *Memphis*, and then into *Ethiopia*, where he stayed 13 Years before his Return. But that when the fatal 13 Years were expired, he came at the Head of one Army, and his Son *Rameses* with another, and beat the Army of *Osarsiphus*, and totally expelled the *Jews*, and those polluted *Egyptians* who had invited them into the Country. He with so great an Army, could scarce have been entertained so long in *Ethiopia*, without any
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Hint of War or Conquest; and have returned back to *Egypt* with such well furnished Armies, capable of subduing the Revolters and their Allies, if he had not been the native King of *Ethiopia*, who had been thus recruited by his own National Troops.

By comparing the authentic Account of the *Hebrew* Scriptures concerning *Zerab* the *Ethiopian* and his vast Army, with the *Egyptian* Fables of the Wars of the Gods, and *Manetho's* History of *Amenoph* King of *Egypt*, first retiring to *Memphis*, and thence to *Ethiopia*; and 13 Years after, returning with two great Armies, one commanded by himself, the other by his Son *Rameffes*, and subduing and expelling the Revolters, we have a pretty intelligible and credible Narrative of the Affairs of *Egypt* after the Reign of *Sesac*. And this as to the two disputed Points, the Chronology and Geography.

The *Ethiopians*, at that Time, were in great Power in *Egypt*, according to the Bible, for *Zerab* brought an Army of *Ethiopians* and *Lybians* through *Egypt*, from Countries on the *West* and *South* of *Egypt*, to a Country on the *East* and *North* of it. These *Ethiopians* continued long in Power there, according to *Manetho*, for they conquered all Opposition in *Egypt*; and their King *Amenophis* became the Head of the Royal Family of *Egypt*, and was succeeded by his Son *Rameffes*, and his Posterity in Lineal Succession, for several Ages, on that Throne.

This, in good Measure, accounts for another Fable, that *Menes* was the first mortal King, that is, in whose Line they counted their Succession: For *Sesac's* own Line, or the Family of their Gods, was extinguished by the Death of his Son *Orus*. And then again, we have here a Geographical Difficulty cleared by *Manetho*. For he says, that *Amenophis* first retreated from the *Lower Egypt* towards *Memphis*, and then further into *Ethiopia*, i. e. Southward beyond the *Thebais*. Therefore these *Cushites* were not the *Arabians* who lived on the East of the *Red Sea*, and so stretching to the Northward towards the Borders of the *Philistims*; but they must have been those *Ethiopians* on the South of *Egypt*, as *Manetho* thought, whose Situation will only agree with the Course of this March.

We may from all this conclude, with our great Author, that *Menes* or *Amenophis*, or *Memnon* was the King of *Egypt* in the Reign of *Asa*; a native King of *Ethiopia*, and the Son of *Zerab*, who succeeded his Father, soon after his memorable Defeat near *Gerar*. It is probable that *Zerab* was not reckoned among their Kings in the Records of *Egypt*. Since neither *Herodotus*, nor *Manetho* mention such a Name. But *Menes*, *Amenophis*, and *Memnon* are mentioned as Kings of *Egypt*, and their Time and Names are so near and alike, that they must be the same Prince.

At what Part of his Reign this Prince did his great Works, cannot be certainly determined. I should think that he built *Memphis*, and turned the River and fortified the Pass, in his first Retreat, for he had an Army of 300,000 Men along with him. But he probably built the Temple of *Vulcan*, in the Time of Peace, after he had conquered all Opposition; when he

He begun to perfect and adorn that City: And it is observed that he only built the Body of that magnificent Structure; and his Successors *Rameses*, *Mæris*, *Afybis*, and *Psametichus* built the Western, Northern, Eastern, and Southern Portico's of that Temple.

* *Psametichus* reigned 300 Years after *Afa*'s Victory over *Zerah*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*'s Calculation, and it is not likely that any Temple should be above 300 Years in Building. So that from the first King in the Records of *Egypt*, to *Psametichus* the Father of *Necho*, who slew *Josiah*, was but about 300 Years.

(6.) We have now proved that there was a Revolt in *Lower Egypt*, in the Neighbourhood of *Heliopolis*, under *Osarsibus*, who was a Priest of *Heliopolis*, soon after *Zerah*'s War with *Afa*; and that *Amenophis* retired to *Ethiopia*: *Egypt* must then have been in the greatest Distraction, without any regular Head, or Government of the lately-erected Empire. There seems to be great Probability that at this Time, as our illustrious Chronologer conjectures,† the *Greeks* undertook the *Argonautic* Expedition. The Ship was large, after the Model of that in which *Danaus* fled to *Greece* a little before; and their sending the Flower of *Greece* to *Colchis*, must have been on a nobler Design, than to fetch the fabled Golden Fleece; those Princes might go on an Embassy to the Maritime States, to notify these Distractions in *Egypt*, and the Invasions by the *Ethiopians* and *Israelites*; and to persuade them to revolt, and set up for their own Liberties, and join with the *Greeks*. And they only made the Fable of the Golden Fleece, to conceal the real Design of the Expedition: And the *Argonautic* Heroes visited so many distant Countries, that supposing such a Design will best justify an Expedition, seemingly so romantic, and otherwise so unworthy of such great Men.

‡ A further Synchronism of Actions to settle the Age of *Menes*, our great Author takes Notice of. *Diodorus* says, that the *Egyptians* originally lived on the Fruits of the Earth, and fared hardly, but *Menes* introduced a sumptuous and voluptuous Way of Living; and about 100 Years after his Death, *Gnephaetus* cursed him for it, and caused the Curse to be entered in *Jupiter*'s Temple at *Thebes*, whereby the Honour of *Menes* was diminished among the *Egyptians*.

So that our illustrious Author had searched thro' all Antiquity, and collected every minute Hint which may clear any Point that I think is capable of being cleared, as to the Chronology of the *Egyptian* Story, to settle what Synchronisms can be made out with the *Hebrew* Transactions, to make out a Probability of the Synchronisms with the great Actions of the *Greeks*, and to adjust the Distances of Events among the *Egyptians* themselves, from Testimonies of Authors, or reasoning from the common Course of Things. Thus *Menes* begun the Temple of *Vulcan*, and *Psametichus* finished it; those Princes therefore must not have lived more distant in Time, than they are said, since
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* *Newton*, p. 240. Edit. Dublin.

† *Ibid.* p. 242.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 243.

it is so very improbable that a Temple should be more Years in building. *Gnephaëtus* cursed *Menes* for his introducing Luxury; so that those two Princes must have reigned in the same City, and so near each other in Time, that the Manners of the *first* must have been well known in the Reign of the *second*.

(7.) But yet as the ancient *Egyptian* Priests would not suffer the Lustre of the great Actions of *Sesostris* to be extinguished, and yet had fixed *Menes* as the first King after the Gods; therefore tho' *Sesostris* or *Osiris* was himself not only one of the Gods, but the Father of all the Divine Race, the Author of Deification; they celebrated his glorious Victories under another Name, by which Artifice they concealed the real Identity of *Sesostris* and *Osiris*, and set down the Actions of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, as if they had happened at many thousand Years distance from each other. By such a wide Difference in the Chronology of the Reigns of these two Heroes, they were preserved from any Suspicion of being thought the same Men; and it is owing to the prodigious Penetration of a *Newton*, if Men are, in these later Ages, brought to discern this great Truth in *Egyptian* Antiquities, viz. that they were the same. The Ancients seem to have thought them Thousands of Years distant from being Contemporaries. For according to *Herodotus*,* the Priests of *Egypt* informed him that *Menes* was the *first* King, and that the *last* of the Gods was *Orus*; now if it was so, then *Menes* must have immediately succeeded *Orus*; and yet they recited out of their Books 330 Kings by Name, who succeeded *Menes*, who reigned 330 Generations of Men, or the Space of about 10,000 Years from this *Menes* to *Mæris*, who was succeeded by *Sesostris*. † But, as these Princes did nothing memorable except *Nitocris*, and *Mæris* the last of them, *Herodotus* passed them over, and proceeded to *Sesostris*, who reigned immediately after these inactive Princes.

This being about 10,000 Years after *Menes*, must create inextricable Confusion in their Chronology, in fixing the Times of *Menes* and *Sesostris*, since their real Time was about two Generations distant, and *Sesostris* was so much before *Menes*.

Herodotus was the first curious Traveller, who visited them to get Intelligence of their Antiquities, who wrote down their Informations, and whose History has reached our Age; so that from him we find what Notions of their Antiquity they desired to promote. Their History should have begun with *Sesostris*, or *Sesac*'s Reign, as their first remarkable Period; but, as their Vanity would not allow this Truth to take Place, their Ignorance of past Times constrained them to do very near the same Thing; for they filled up so great a Space of their first Time with the Reigns of their Gods, (for whose Conduct in the Government they did not think themselves historically accountable) that they begun their History with the Reign of *Menes* the Builder of *Vulcan*'s Temple, and of the City of *Memphis*. But however, they were still distressed

* *Herod. Euterp. cap. 100.*

† *Ibid. cap. 102.*

distressed with the Recency of their Affairs, and therefore fabulously inserted in their sacred Books, 330 Names of Kings, betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostris*, who reigned above Ten thousand Years.

But Fable and Falsehood created all this Confusion : For considering the small Space of Time betwixt *Sesac* and the Fall of the Monarchy, that is, betwixt *Reboboam* and *Cambyfes*, who overturned the Kingdom of *Egypt* ; and considering also, that there was, during all that Time, the Use of *Writing* among them, one may be induced to wonder that their History from *Sesac*'s Reign should be either dubious, or obscure, or even incorrect. Suppose they had about 25 Successions of Kings, it must have been easy to have set down, not only their Names, but even the Number of Years of their several Reigns, from *Sesac* to *Hophra* or *Amasis*.

We have had now 30 Kings of *England* inclusive, from the *Norman* Invasion to the present Reign ; and yet the Number of Years of each Reign, as well as the Names of the Kings, are all distinctly preserved in our Records : So is a much longer Line of Princes, from the *Romans*, thro' the *Saxon*, *Danish*, *Norman*, and *Scottish*, to the *German* Race of *British* Monarchs. This Exactness, which has been so easy to preserve in these latter Ages, could not have been difficult then, if they had began to set down the Years of every King's Reign. And one would think this would have been the Practice of the ancient *Egyptians*, since they had this Pattern set them in the *Hebrew* History.* But the Fiction of Ten thousand Years and Three hundred and thirty Reigns inserted betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostris*, threw all their Chronology into inextricable Darkness and Perplexity, and made some Parts entirely incredible, as particularly that *Vulcan's* Temple should be above 11000 Years in finishing. Again, the Additions which have been made to their Catalogue of Monarchs, by *Manetho* and *Diodorus*, have made their History both incredible and unintelligible.

But as the oldest Piece of *Egyptian* History is that about the *Invasion* and *Expulsion* of the *Pastors*, recorded by *Manetho*, and cited by *Josephus* † ; and as *Herodotus* is the oldest Historian now extant upon *Egyptian* Antiquities : So if the Time of the *Pastors* Reign can be fixed by the Old Testament, and the Length of the *Egyptian* Monarchy can be computed by the List of active Kings who did something memorable, as set down by *Herodotus*, and this List of their Kings be compared with the parallel Succession of the Kings of *Judah* and *Sparta*, we may have a tolerably exact Account of the Rise and Fall, the Duration and great Actions of the *Egyptian* Empire, the Capital Seats of the Monarchy, and the Times about which the ancient Grandeur of those Cities gradually rose.

† Sir *Isaac Newton* gives this Account of them : “ The Kings of *Egypt*, “ who expelled the *Shepherds*, reigned first at *Coptos*, then at *Thebes*, and “ then at *Memphis*. At *Coptos* I place *Misphragmythosis* and *Tethmosis*, who
VOL. II. I i “ expelled

* *Newton*. p. 244.

† *Joseph. contr. Ap. Lib. I.*

‡ *Newton*. p. 244.

“ expelled the *Shepherds*, and abolished their Custom of sacrificing Men.
 “ Then *Thebes* became the Royal City of *Ammon*, or *Ammenemes*, and from
 “ him was called *No-Ammon*, and his Conquest on the West of *Egypt* was
 “ called *Ammonia*. After him in the same City of *Thebes* reigned *Osiris*,
 “ *Orus*, *Menes*, or *Amenophis*, and *Rameffes*: But *Memphis* and her Mira-
 “ cles were not yet celebrated in *Greece*, for *Homer* celebrates *Thebes* as in
 “ its Glory in his Days, and makes no Mention of *Memphis*. After *Menes*
 “ had built *Memphis*, *Mæris* the Successor of *Rameffes* adorned it, and made
 “ it the Seat of the Kingdom; and this was almost two Generations after
 “ the *Trojan War*.”

* The same learned Author adds this Rule for determining this Point:
 “ If, with *Herodotus*, we omit the Names of those Kings who did nothing
 “ memorable, and consider only those whose Actions are recorded, and who
 “ left splendid Monuments of their having reigned in *Egypt*, such as were
 “ Temples, Statues, Pyramids, Obelisks, and Palaces dedicated or ascribed
 “ to them. These Kings reduced into good Order, will give us all, or
 “ almost all the Kings of *Egypt* from the Expulsion of the *Pastors*, and
 “ founding of the Monarchy, downwards to the Conquest of *Egypt* by
 “ *Cambyfes*.”

Herodotus's List, our great Author rectifies thus: “ *Sesostris* reigned in
 “ the Age of the Gods of *Egypt*, being deified by the Names of *Osiris* and
 “ *Bacchus*, as above; therefore *Menes*, *Nitocris* and *Mæris* are to be placed
 “ after him; *Amenophis* and his Son *Rameffes* reigned next after the Gods,
 “ and therefore *Nitocris* and *Mæris* reigned after *Rameffes*:” *Mæris* is set
 down immediately before *Cheops*, three Times in the Dynasties of the Kings
 of *Egypt*, composed by *Eratosthenes*, and once in the Dynasties of *Manetho*;
 and in the same Dynasties *Nitocris* is set after the Builders of the three great
 Pyramids.

After these Princes who reigned at *Thebes*, are to be reckoned *Cheops*, *Ce-
 phren*, *Mycerinus*, *Nitocris*, *Afybis*, and others who reigned at *Memphis*, and
 spent their Time in adorning that City, till the *Ethiopians*, *Assyrians*, and
 others revolted, and *Egypt* lost all her Dominion abroad, and became divided
 in several small Kingdoms.

* *Newton*. p. 246.

S E C T. II.

On the Course of the Egyptian Story from Menes to the Fall of the Kingdom; its great Works, as Pyramids, Temples, Obelisks, Cities, Palaces, and Hieroglyphics, and their other most memorable Affairs.

THE Egyptian History, as I have in Part intimated before, may be distinguished into four Periods.

1. Its Period or Time of Knowledge, as far as *Moses* wrote of its Affairs.
2. The Time of their Historic Ignorance, from the *Exodus* and their Loss at the *Red Sea*, to the Days of *Solomon*.
3. The Period of Fable after *Solomon's* Days, in which Season they had the Vacuities of History to fill up with Fiction, in the fabled Reigns of the Gods, and the fabled multiplied Ages of their mortal Kings.
4. The Period of tolerable History, towards the Decline of the Kingdom.

And we need not wonder at this greater Perfection of History among the *Egyptians*, since writing of History must, about those Times, have become more common among the neighbouring Nations, as well as themselves.

(1.) All Authors, who have related the Antiquities of *Egypt*, have professed to have had their Informations from their Priests. And, tho' *Herodotus* doth not pretend to any more authentic Intelligence, I have chiefly followed him, as he is the oldest Writer on the Subject, and wrote at a Time when their Antiquities were the least corrupted.

There is, indeed, Absurdity enough in the most ancient Accounts of their Affairs, as that their first Kings were the Gods of *Egypt*; there is also an incredible Augmentation of Years, as in the Reigns of the Gods, and the Addition of 330 Reigns of mortal Men,* which Fables must have arisen from senseless Affectation for, and Ostentation of Antiquity: Yet he doth not seem to have believed them himself: Nor has he ever disturbed or perplexed the Course of his Work by this fabulous Chronology, if we take his List of Kings, as it is rectified by *Sir Isaac Newton*.

There are also several express Synchronisms with the *Hebrew* History, as *Sesac*, *Asa*, *So*, *Sennacherib*, *Neco*, *Hopbra*; which tend to illustrate their History, and to determine what the real Condition of their Country, in the several Ages of those Princes, was. There also is, in *Herodotus*, a List of *Egyptian* Kings, in parallel Successions to the Kings of *Judah* and *Sparta*, and coinciding with the *Babylonian*, stretched forward into the *Persian* Line of Succession. This demonstrates that there could not be many more Kings of *Egypt* than *Herodotus* mentions, from *Sesostris*, or *Sesac*, in the Course of the successive Emperors, till the Fall of the Kingdom. And I have endeavoured

* *Herod. Lib. II. cap. 100.*

voured to state these Successions pretty exactly out of the Sacred History, and shewn that they will correspond with the parallel List in *Herodotus*, as rectified by Sir *Isaac Newton*.

(2.) We have in the last Section given some Account in Chronological Order, of the first Emperors, who reigned at *Thebes*. And we may fairly conclude that *Thebes* was at first the Capital of the Empire; since there are such magnificent Accounts of this great City among the Ancients. *Homer*, in his *ninth Iliad*,* speaks of it as famous for its hundred Gates, and its numerous and warlike Citizens; tho' he never mentions *Memphis*. It was also famous according to *Diodorus*,† who says, that it was in Circuit 140 Furlongs,‡ adorned with stately, publick Buildings and magnificent Temples, and there were in it 20,000 Chariots of War; for there were along the *Nile* 100 Stables, each of which would hold 200 Horses. There was no City under the Sun so adorned with such, and so many stately Monuments of Gold, Silver, and Ivory; and such Multitudes of Colossus's and Obelisks, each cut out of one entire Stone. There were four Temples in that City, for Beauty and Grandeur exceeding all Comparison; the most ancient of which was near two Miles in Circuit.

Now as *Herodotus* mentions expressly one King by Name, *Mæris*, who made the famous Lake near *Memphis*; and as *Diodorus* || mentions one *Ucho-reus*, or *Miris*, who did the like Work, and that this gave Occasion to most of the Kings after him, to remove their Court to *Memphis* from *Thebes*, we must conclude that *Thebes* had been the Imperial Seat before *Memphis* was built.

(3.) But when *Menes*, or *Amenophis*, built *Memphis*,§ and so accommodated it with Bridges, that they maintained an easy Communication from the City, with all the great Branches of that noble River; and its Situation being the Head of the *Delta*, where the *Nile* divided itself into its principal Branches, whereby it commanded all the Navigation of the River; and being besides a well fortified Pass, and situated more centrally than *Thebes* to that vast Monarchy, which now extended so far into *Asia* on the one Side, and *Africa* on the other. —And, when *Mæris* afterwards had furnished it with so vast a Collection of Water, by the Lake of *Mæris*, which he at immense Labour and Expence provided both for the Conveniency and Magnificence, the Grandeur and Pleasure of the City; and, as the Improvements about *Memphis* rose in Elegancy and Magnificence, this seems an Indication of its being made Capital of the Empire later than the other. —Accordingly, as the Succession of Kings is so admirably adjusted by Sir *Isaac Newton* out of the Historical Lists of *Herodotus*, we may well acquiesce in his Account, that, while the Empire continued great, the Seat of it was chiefly at *Memphis*, under these successive Princes.

* *Hom. Iliad.* † *Diodor. Lib. I. c. 4.* ‡ Sir *John Marsham* thinks this too small a Calculation of its Dimensions. || *Diodor. Sic. Ibid.* § *Herod. Lib. II. c. 99.*

Princes *Mæris*, *Cheops*, *Chephrenes*, *Mycerinus*, *Nitocris*, *Afyebis*, and their Successors of the *Memphite* Kingdom: And, that these Monarchs employed their Time, Care and Wealth in enriching, embellishing and adorning that City; till the *Ethiopians* and *Assyrians*, and others revolted or invaded them; and so *Egypt* lost all its Dominion abroad, and became again divided into several small Kingdoms.*

S E C T. III.

Arguments to prove the Greatness of this Monarchy, from their own History.

F. **T**HAT this Monarchy was once great, may be undoubtedly gathered from the Historical Accounts, which are given by all their Writers, of the Foundations of its Power, and the Extent thereof, laid by the Victories of their greatest *Hero*, *Sesostris*;† they were carried on with an astonishing Rapidity and Success, thro' a vast Extent of Country; first thro' *Lybia*, and *Ethiopia* and *Arabia*, and then thro' all *Asia*; by his Fleet, which he fitted out in the *Red Sea*, he conquered all that Coast towards *India*: Then marching with his Land Army, he subdued the greatest Part of *Asia*; he passed the *Ganges*, says *Diodorus*, and pierced thro' *India* to the main Ocean. Then he turned his victorious Arms Northward, and subdued the *Scythians* as far as the River *Tanais*; where, by leaving some of his *Egyptians*, he gave Original to the Nations of *Cholcis*. From thence he passed into *Europe*, and was in Danger of losing his Army, by the Difficulty of the Passages, and Want of Provisions; and putting a Stop to his grand Undertakings in *Thrace*, he returned after nine Years Expedition,‡ laden with Spoils and Glory.

|| *Osiris* also made the like Expedition thro' *Ethiopia* and *Arabia*, then passing thro' the rest of *Asia*, he transported his Army into *Europe*, and slew in *Thrace*, *Lycurgus* their King, which seems to be the same History; only out of Ostentation of Antiquity, this was an Expedition in the Age of *Gods*, to conceal the Truth, that they had but one such Conqueror, and that their first was but in such an Age.

But several Particulars combine to illustrate the general Truth of this History, tho' we may allow some Mixtures of Fable with the Truth.

(1.) It must have been a singular Success that could elate a Man of Sense, to such an Extravagance of impious Ambition, as to aspire at, and assume to himself, a *Deification*, or to be ranked among the *Gods*. It seems to intimate that he had advanced to an *higher* Dominion than ever mortal Man had

* *Newt.* p. 252.
Lib. II. c. 103, 104.

† *Herod.* Lib. II. c. 102, 103.
|| *Diodor.* Lib. I. c. 1, 2.

‡ *Diodor. Sic.* Lib. I. c. 4. *Herod.*

had reached *before*, since he would not be content with that Sort of Rank and Dignity, that all other Conquerors, before him, had ever contented themselves with.

(2.) And there must have been an unparalleled and matchless Lustre in his Actions, that could seduce even the most ignorant of Mankind, to come into that impious and profane Adulation, to give him those Titles of Divinity which he assumed.

But when he had superadded to all his Glories Abroad, the further alluring Triumphs of Beneficence at Home; and had used his almost boundless Power and Wealth in adorning and enriching his Country, and had made all Places shine with the Marks of his Munificence: He succeeded in the new modelling their Religion, as well as their State, in settling Hero-gods, and an universal Monarchy.

There were, indeed, some Unbelievers in his new *Deity*, who had an Inclination to have opposed his Pretensions (if he had then begun them) as *Danaus* his Brother; but that was an important Opposition, and he appears not to have been a Genius for great Undertakings, but only for low, mean Villanies; the perfidious Plot, or private Stab, or cowardly, spiritless Retreat.

'Tis true, all this Glory ended in a Civil War, among his own Imperial Family, which at last blotted out this new Race of Immortals; which were those Wars of the Gods of *Egypt*, so famous in the ancient Fables of *Paganism*. And I am apt to think that no body ever read them, with any clear Sense affixed to them, till our illustrious Critic, Sir *Isaac Newton* (after they had past upon Ages for unintelligible Fiction) penetrated and opened their concealed, Historical Truth, and Chronology.

Now these Wars against *Sbisbac* were doubtless the Occasion of great National Distractions; but, as they at last terminated in the *Fall* of *Typhon*, by *Orus* or *Apollo*; and then the *Fall* of *Orus* himself, the *last* of the Gods; and lastly, in the *Succession* of *Menes*, or *Amenophis*, to the Imperial Throne of *Egypt*, who was the first King *after* the Gods;* and, as *Diodorus* says further, *Menes* taught the People the *Adoration* of the Gods, and the Manner of Divine Worship: But, as the Gods had reigned Twenty thousand Years before *Menes*, this must explain our Author's Sense, not that they were without some Sort of Religion to that Time, but that he taught them, or confirmed them in the Idolatry of *Hero-gods*: He farther was the Introducer of Elegance and Luxury, and Grandeur of Living, as *Diodorus* further says:† This implies his Power and Wealth. It must be therefore probable, that some Time after these Wars, all was quiet and composed in the Empire, not only in *Egypt* itself, but in the conquered Provinces.

When this Civil War begun, the *Ethiopians* joined the *Egyptians* against the *Lybians*: And the Scripture-History informs us, that *Zerah* the *Ethiopian*, was the most potent Person in *Egypt* about the 15th Year of *Asa's* Reign at *Jerusalem*,

* *Diodor.* Lib. I. cap. 4. † *Diodor.* Ibid.

Jerusalem, 2 *Chron.* xiv. 9. and xv. 11. I apprehend these Events might come about thus; *Zerab*, the King of *Ethiopia*, had probably been a Companion to *Sesac* in all his Wars, and one of his Generals thro' the whole grand Expedition: He might adhere to *Shisac*'s Party in the Civil Wars of *Egypt*, till *Shisac* himself was slain. But at last, (as he was an old experienced Commander, and the Emperor himself gone) Ambition stimulated him to aspire to the Empire; as the same Principle did, afterwards, the Generals of *Alexander*, to divide his Empire among them. And, as *Zerab* had assisted in subduing the *Lybians*, and had his own hereditary Subjects at his Command, being many of them his own Veteran Troops, who had attended his Standards, in *Shisac*'s glorious Expedition, 2 *Chron.* xii. 3. And, after he had defeated *Orus*, who was drowned in the *Nile*, he seems to have got the Imperial Crown of *Egypt*. And he assaults one of the first Provinces, with which his great Master *Sesostris* began, viz. that of *Judæa*. And, tho' he here met with a great Repulse, 2 *Chron.* xiv. 13. and probably himself fell in this Action; for it is only said the *Ethiopians* were broken, and could not recover themselves, but *Zerab* is named no more: Tho' it was so, yet however his Successor, and probably his Son, at last gained all the Monarchy of *Egypt*, and reigned long in Peace.

These Evidences we have in their written Records, that the Empire was once great; and, from the Scripture-History, that the *Ethiopians* had then great Power in *Egypt*. This Son of *Zerab* was *Menes*, or *Amenophis*, or *Memnon*, who built *Memphis*, and confirmed the Institution of *Hero-gods*, which had been begun by *Sesac*, or *Osiris*. And, by this, he might probably endear himself to the *Egyptians*; who no doubt had, in the main, a great Veneration for the Memory of their *Hero*.

S E C T. IV.

On the Proofs of its ancient Greatness from antique Monuments and Inscriptions.

WE have mentioned from Antiquity several ancient Inscriptions on *Obelisks*, which set forth the vast Extent of the Empire, and the immense Wealth of the Emperors, in the Ages near its first erecting by *Sesostris* or *Shishak*.

Ramestes, the Son and Successor of *Menes*, or *Amenophis*, erected an Obelisk in the City of *Heliopolis*, which he dedicated to the *Sun*. Upon this Obelisk were several *Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, which were interpreted in Greek by *Hermapion*, an *Egyptian Priest*.

Ammianus:

* *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates its being brought to *Rome* from *Alexandria*, by Order of *Constantius*. He mentions the vast Difficulty there was at *Rome* itself, to rear this enormous Monument of the ancient *Egyptian* Greatness; so that *Egypt* must have been great and wealthy, when it was first raised: When, as he says, the Kings ordered the Veins of the Mountains and the remotest Coasts to be searched, to cut out from them these grand Monuments of their Gratitude to the Gods, in Memorial of their great Victories, or other eminent Instances of Prosperity with which they were elated. Our Author further observes, that the Obelisks were inscribed with various Figures of Birds and Beasts, each Figure expressing a Word, and sometimes a whole Sentence or Sentiment. The Inscriptions on this Obelisk expressed the Favour that *Ramestes* enjoyed from the Gods, that he reigned over a great Part of the Earth, and lived a very long Life, by the Favour of *Apollo*, that he was beloved by *Ammon*, *Mars*, &c. †

N. B. It is plain that they used the Names of the Celestial and Hero Gods promiscuously, according to these Inscriptions.

‡ *Strabo*, an Eye-Witness, tells us that, in the Monuments of the Kings of *Egypt*, above the *Memnonium*, were Inscriptions upon Obelisks, expressing the Riches of their Monarchs, and their reigning as far as *Scythia*, *Bactria*, *India*, and *Ionia*: And *Tacitus*, giving an Account of an Expedition of Curiosity, which *Cæsar Germanicus* || undertook to *Egypt*, to inform himself of their Antiquities, tells us, That when he came to the ancient *Thebes*, & *Veterum Thebarum magna Vestigia Visit* (which shews it was then chiefly in Ruins) there then remained Inscriptions in *Egyptian* Letters, inscribed on ancient Fabrics, not at that Time demolished or defaced, which *Germanicus* saw, and which the *Egyptian* Priests interpreted to the noble Traveller; setting forth their former almost incredible Opulence; and that this King, *Ramestes*, had an Army of 700,000 Men, that he reigned over *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Scythia*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bitbynia* and *Lycia*, from Sea to Sea, i. e. from the *Euxine* to the *Lycian*, or *Mediterranean* Sea. This Description of the Empire will comprehend most of *Africa*, *Asia*, and a considerable Part of *Europe*.

These Obelisks seem to have been chiefly erected and dedicated by *Ramestes*, or *Ramestes*, which is the more credible, as he was one of the wealthiest Emperors that ever set on the Throne. § There were also inscribed the Tributes of the several Nations, the Weight of the Gold and Silver, the Quantity of Troops, Arms and Horses, which each Tributary Province was to advance, scarce inferior to what the *Parthian* or *Roman* Powers now exact.**

Ramestes was Son of *Amenophis*, according to *Manetho*, and the Predecessor of *Mæris*, who made the famous Lake, according to Sir *Isaac Newton's* rectified

* *Ammian. Edit. Paris. 4to. Lib. XVII. p. 91, 92, 93.* † *Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 458, 461, 462.*
‡ *Strab. Lib. XVII. p. 817. Newt. p. 249. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 456.* || *Tacit. Annal. Lib. II. Edit. Plantin. p. 80, 81.* § *Vid. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 462.* ** *Tacit. ibid.*

rectified List of *Herodotus*: The Empire must therefore have been of vast Extent in this Prince's Time.

And further; these Obelisks must certainly have been very ancient Monuments, for *Germanicus* was too great a Judge to be imposed upon by any counterfeit Obelisk or Inscription: Further still, they must, from their Altitude, be out of the Reach of any Erasure or Alteration in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions. And, if this Record in the Inscription on these Obelisks be authentic, there could not be then any *Assyrian* Monarchy of great Extent; or, as *Sir Isaac Newton* says, the *Assyrian* Monarchy was not then risen; namely, in *Asa's* Days.

S E C T. V.

A further Enquiry into the Antiquity and Use of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

THE Mention of these ancient, *Hieroglyphic* Inscriptions seems to minister a very proper Occasion to subjoin some more Remarks on the Antiquity and Use of this *Way* of Writing among the *Egyptians*.

There is a great Boast of the Antiquity of this Practice; but I cannot but think that these Inscriptions of *Ramestes* are almost as ancient as any Writing can be reasonably supposed to have been in *Egypt*; for they could not have any great Public or National Affairs to record on public Columns, which should be exposed to the View of every Spectator, much before that Time. And when they had pompous Materials for public Inscriptions, such as the Extent and Riches of the Empire, the Magnificence and Power of their Monarchs, &c. they affected to inscribe these Memoirs in *Hieroglyphic* Characters, that Strangers might not be able to discern the Recency of their State, by finding out that this was among their first Inscriptions.

I apprehend that all this Affectation of *Secrecy* in their *Writing*, and *Fable* and *Fiction* in their *History*, was really owing to one Original, namely, their profound *Ignorance* of ancient History, joined to another, their great Pride, which would not suffer them to own it. Their boast of a long Succession of Ages under reigning *Gods*, was purely owing to their having no Knowledge of *ancient Kings*; and their writing in Hieroglyphics for *Secrecy*, was owing to the same Cause, namely, that they had no *ancient Materials* for *History*; or any ancient *Speculations* to write about.

They invented Mystery in their Letters, to conceal and secrete not their sublime Knowledge, but their gross Ignorance: When the Nation was grown so *powerful*, they would not confess their *Recency*; and there was no Way to hide it so effectual, as writing their Records in unintelligible Characters, which none could read but their Priests: Hereby it would happen that no

Stranger could pretend to read them, or detect them. Accordingly, when *Herodotus*, and even *Diodorus* long after, gave the *Greeks* and *Romans* an *Egyptian* History, they did not pretend to have read their Records themselves, but the Priests read them; so that they might read what they pleased, and pretend it was ancient Record.

The Use of these *Hieroglyphics*, or mystic Symbols, or sacred Letters, seems to have been principally for *Secrecy* and Concealment, when they were first invented: But I cannot conceive how they could, by any Composition or Juxtaposition, make out a distinct Discourse, and convey a clear intelligible Account of what we can do by Words. But I doubt not, the *Egyptians* had attained the Knowledge of *Letters* or *Alphabetical Writing*, long enough before the Writing on the Obelisks of *Ramestes*. For they had it probably in *Solomon's* Days, and had made use of it in *Shishac's* Reign. And in that Reign, being swelled with the Pride of Imperial Power, they affected every Artifice that might conceal their Ignorance, or perhaps be subservient to their new Superstition of Hero-Worship.

But then, if they set down in their sacred Writing these Superstitions or symbolical Mixtures, to secrete their Sense; yet it seems necessary to make use of Alphabetical Letters to connect and complete Sentences, as *Dr. Shuckford* explains their Use in Writing. And *Ammianus* expressly says, "that the *Egyptians* had formerly used the plainer Way of Writing."* It seems plain that there could be no History carried on, in long-continued Narration, or any Speculation, thro' a long-written Dissertation, sufficiently intelligible, by these Figures or Symbols, without the Help of Connection by Words.

But, if they had the Use of Symbols and Words too; then both the Ends of Writing might be answered: By the *Symbols* the Writing would be rendered *secret* to all but the Priests; and by the *others* they would be real *Records*, as inscribed on the Obelisks, and capable of being interpreted to a determinate Sense and Meaning.

Again; there is no Hint of any particular Inscriptions either Hieroglyphical, or Alphabetical, or mixed (as I think they all were) more ancient than these in the Days of *Ramestes*, and these being long after *Shishac* and *Solomon*; we may account for their being intelligible, tho' ever so Hieroglyphical, by this hidden Connection by the Use of an Alphabet.

Again, further; I can discern no Reason why the Priests should falsify, or misinterpret this ancient Inscription, as to the Numbers of their ancient Armies, or the Power and Extent of their Empire. It could not be done out of Flattery to the *Romans*; for the *Egyptians* boasted not of any such ancient Alliance with the *Roman* People. And it was the same Thing to the *Egyptians* of *Cæsar's* Age, whether *Assyria* or *Persia* had then ruled from *India* to *Ethiopia*; since all their ancient Glory had been so long buried in Ruins, by their

* *Ammian. Lib. XVII. p. 91. Edit. Paris.*

their successive Conquerors ; and all the Nations, that about those Ages contended for Dominion, were then equally lost to Fame or Power. There seems therefore to be no sufficient Reason to call in Question the Truth of the Inscriptions on these antique Monuments ; which had stood so long, and were then formed with these Inscriptions upon them, and were interpreted into such a distinct Sense.

Why should those Monuments of the ancient Egyptian Greatness be called in Question, any more than we do the Inscriptions of Greece or Rome, which we now dig up out of old, and much more shattered Ruins?

S E C T. VI.

On the Pyramids of Egypt, their Antiquity and Use ; and that they are a further Proof of its ancient Greatness.

A Nother, which seems to be an unanswerable Argument of their immense Wealth and Grandeur, is taken from their other magnificent Works, namely, *the Pyramids*: Many of which at this Day remain, much the most ancient Wonders of human Art, in the known World.

The primitive Egyptian Monarchs first shewed themselves great and powerful, by many eminent Fabrics, in which other Princes had gone before them as a Pattern ; as in the grand Cities of *Thebes* and *Memphis*, they built in Imitation of former Examples, only they exceeded the Original Patterns in Grandeur and Magnificence. Others of them embellished their Capitals with vast and splendid Temples, as with that of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* by *Sesostris* ; that of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, begun by *Menes* ; that of the *Sun* at *Heliopolis*, perhaps built by *Ramestes*, who erected the great Obelisk there ; others adorned and beautified their Country by stately Palaces ; as *Menes*, or *Amenophis*, that at *Abydos* and the *Memnonia*. Then, to demonstrate the Magnificence of their Taste, as well as Power and Wealth, their Statues were most of them of the *Colossian* Kind, as the celebrated Statue of *Memnon*, said to be the greatest in all *Egypt*, the Measure of its Foot being above seven Cubits ; and then their dedicated, votive Columns were *Obelisks*, wrought out of the Marble Veins of Mountains, and fetched from the remotest Countries.

As to the Time, about which these magnificent Temples and Palaces were built, and this grand Taste begun to prevail, we have (I think) the Original of them in *Solomon's Temple* ; and perhaps his other grand Works at *Jerusalem*. For, tho' he had many of his Architects from *Tyre*, yet their chief Skill was in Timber, as being situated near *Lebanon* ; and there is no Intimation of their having built any magnificent Temples or Palaces before that Time, either at *Tyre*, or any other Place.

But *Shishak* must have had a full Account of them at the Time of their being finished ; and probably surveyed them fully in his grand Expedition, when he plundered *Jerusalem* and the Temple. From this Period we may fix the Date of this Taste for grand Architecture in the ancient World. And he, accordingly, begun it in *Egypt*. He seems to have added much to the Magnificence of *Thebes* after this Pattern, and particularly to have adorned his Capital with a splendid Temple to his Father *Ammon*, in Imitation of this Original Pattern of *Solomon's*. He built also, after his Division of *Egypt* into *Nomes*, a Temple in each Capital City, dedicated to the God of the *Nome*, or to his own Principal Officers, which Temples were their *Sepulchres*, as Sir *Isaac Newton* says.*

Now, that this Taste of Magnificence in Architecture obtained much in *Egypt*, in those Ages, appears from *Herodotus*. The next, that is mentioned as a Builder, is *Menes* or *Amenophis*. He built or founded *Memphis*, joined all the Branches of the *Nile* to each other, and to the City, by magnificent Bridges, for the easy marching of his Armies, and for defending that great Pass. He built *Vulcan's* Temple, and the celebrated Palaces at *Abydos*, and the *Memnonia*. And if the *Osymanduas* of *Diodorus* be the same Prince, as Sir *Isaac* has proved, the Grandeur of his Sepulchre exceeded all Comparison,† as it is largely described by that Historian. It was ten Furlongs in Circuit, they went up to it thro' a Marble Portico, in Length 200 Feet, and in Height 45 Cubits; which led into a four-square Stone *Peristylon*, each Side being 400 Foot; the Roof was entirely of Stone. Passing out of this *Peristylon*, they entered into another Portico like the former, but more curiously carved. Here at the Entrance of this Portico was the famous Statue of *Memnon*. And then another Piazza, or square *Peristylon*, with many curious Carvings on the Walls. But, in the Middle of this Gallery or *Peristylon*, which was open to the Air at Top, was erected an Altar of curious Marble, as admirable for its Size, as Workmanship or Materials: Adjacent to this grand Gallery, were several other Apartments, in one of which the Body of the Emperor was said to be deposited. And then there was an Ascent to the Top of the whole Monument, where was the famous Golden Circle, a Cubit thick, divided into 365 Cubits, on each Cubit was inscribed the Days of the Year, and the natural or Heliacal Rising and Setting of the Stars, which Golden Circle or Border continued there, till *Cambyfes* took it away, when he conquered *Egypt*.

This Spirit of Building and grand Taste in their Architecture continued in the next Reign, that of *Rameffes*; for he built the Western Portico of *Vulcan's* Temple, and raised and dedicated the magnificent Obelisk, mentioned on another Occasion.

Then *Mæris*, his Successor, shewed the same Taste, as to the Grandeur of his Works; but he seems to have aimed not only at State, but also Pleasure
and

* *Newt.* p. 221. † *Diodor.* Lib. I. cap. 4.

and Advantage, in his grand Designs. For, tho' he built the Northern Portico of *Vulcan's* famous Temple at *Memphis*, more sumptuously than his wealthy Predecessor had done the Western one; yet he laid much greater Schemes for the Improvement of the City. For he made that celebrated Reservoir of Water, to receive the Waters of the *Nile*, at its Overflowing, of such immense Depth and Magnitude, as must have amounted to almost an incredible Expence and Labour in finishing; * said to be about 90 Miles in Length, and 3600 Furlongs in Circuit, and in many Places 300 Foot deep. Besides, he built of the Mud or Earth dug out of the Lake, as *Diodorus* says, a *Sepulchre* and two *Pyramids*, which seem to me, to have been Patterns for all the rest, and the first *Pyramids* in the World.

But, with regard to those stupendous Fabrics, the *Pyramids*, their *Age* when they were begun to be undertaken, and the *Use* they were intended for, seem each of them worthy of our Curiosity to enquire after.—And I think it is pretty rational to admit, that they could not have been attempted either *before* the Empire was become great and wealthy, or *after* it was weak and impoverished. The *Age* of the *Pyramids* must therefore be confined within that Period of its Opulence and Power.—The *Beginning* of the Power of this Empire seems to have been in the Days of *Sisibak*; and they were plainly, according to their Historians, employed at first in other Kinds of Works, such as *Temples* dedicated to the Gods, and some Royal *Sepulchres* very much resembling *Temples*. But in *Sesostri's* Time, the *Temples* were chiefly considered as the *Royal Sepulchres*; and the *great Men*, as the Generals and Counsellors of *Sesostri*, had their *Sepulchres* in the *Temples* of the *Names*, which were consecrated to them.†

But now, after that deifying Reign, all the *Temples* being engrossed by the *Hero Gods* and the *Demi Gods* for their *Sepulchres*; and the succeeding *Monarchs*, according to their prevailing *Superstition*, having no Right to the *Temples*; yet being of equal Eminence and Power, their Ambition inspired them to project and invent these grand and superb Edifices for their own sepulchral Monuments. And, tho' they would *not* have them built in the *Form* and *Manner* of *Temples*, which they might easily be persuaded to think profane and impious: Yet they invented, tho' in another *Form*, these magnificent Monuments, which were the most grand Things in the World.

The Reason why they affected to raise so *many* *Pyramids*, was this, *viz.* The peculiar Intention of those Structures, that they were all of them designed for *Royal Tombs*: And each Monarch would have *his own Sepulchre* appropriate to himself: And, as they were then universal Monarchs, and the greatest Persons of human Kind, it is no Wonder they should affect this magnificent Singularity in their own Funerals; and to have this grand, imperial Dormitory for depositing the King's Body, along with the rest of his Royal Family.

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* *Diodor.* Lib. I. c. 4. † *Newt.* p. 221.

* The first *Pyramid* was that of *Mæris*, made of Brick, dug out of the Lake of *Mæris*. And, tho' *Diodorus* says, he made a *Sepulchre* and two *Pyramids*, one for himself, another for his Queen; yet I think he mistook the Fact, that he made a *Sepulchre* besides the *Pyramids*. I rather suppose that the Truth was, he made for *their Sepulchres*, these two *Pyramids*.†

And, whereas *Osymanduas* made such a sumptuous *Sepulchre*, as the same Writer tells us, from *Hecatæus*, this seems to have been much in the Manner of a *Temple*, in the Form of those sepulchral Monuments, which were erected in the deifying Reigns; for there was a magnificent *Altar* within it. But, I think that the Imperial Tombs were afterwards all *Pyramidical* in their Form and Manner, as well as *Sepulchral* in their Use.

This *Mæris*, who made that immense Lake near *Memphis*, and occasioned the Removal of the Imperial Seat thither, was succeeded by the Builders of the great *Pyramids*, according to *Herodotus's* rectified List, *Cheops*, *Chephren*, *Mycerinus*, and *Nitocris*.

And this was in the Age when the Monarchy of *Egypt* was in its greatest Elevation, Grandeur and Power. For *Mæris* himself wrote, or caused to be wrote, a Book of Surveying, for this End, to preserve an equal Division of the Lands of *Egypt* among the Soldiery, as it was divided and proportioned to them by *Sesostris*; and which probably continued to them to that very Time. So that it appeareth that the Emperors had at that Time not only vast Revenues, but vast Standing Armies of landed Soldiers in Pay. And the grand Lake would take up some of the Military Lands, which made it further necessary to provide for a new Division, besides the Destruction of the Boundaries, which would be occasioned by the Inundation of the River.

‡ *Diodorus* indeed owns that there was not an Agreement either among the *Natives* themselves, or the *Greek Writers*, concerning the first Builders of the *Pyramids*; tho' he mentions *Chemmis*, *Chephres* and *Mycerinus*, as successively reigning at *Memphis*, and building the three great *Pyramids*.

|| But *Herodotus* seems to be in no Doubt as to those Princes who built the greatest and most magnificent of them, tho' he names the Builder of the greatest, *Cheops*, whom *Diodorus* calls *Chemmis*. None of these Historians had any Knowledge of the Chronology of these elder Ages in *Egypt*, or about what Time these Princes lived. But, by the considering that the last of the Gods was the Son of *Sesac*, and the first King after him, was *Menes*, according to the Lists of *Herodotus*, rectified by Sir *Isaac Newton*; we know that *Cheops* was the fifth in Succession from *Sisac*, and therefore in the Ages of *Egyptian* Greatness.

And yet, notwithstanding the Emperors had, then, such vast Revenues and Armies at their Command; yet both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* represent *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, the Builder of the greatest Pyramid, as a very unpopular Prince;

* *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 101. 149.* † *Diodor. Lib. I. c. 4.* ‡ *Ibid. Lib. I. c. 5.* || *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 124, 125.*

Prince; and that his Successor, who built the next Pyramid, imitated him in those Actions, which had made him so unacceptable to the *Egyptians*.

The Things, which chiefly disgusted the People, were the oppressive Burdens which he laid upon them, in these prodigious Works. There were 100,000 Men as *Herodotus*,* 360,000 as *Diodorus*,† and 366,000‡ as *Pliny* says, employed for twenty Years together, in Building this one Pyramid, a Structure of almost no Profit, as *Pliny* observes.

But, if we consider the Wealth and Power of the Monarchy, one would think it might be equal to the Undertaking. For, in the Reign but one, before *Cheops*, the National, or Imperial Army consisted of 700,000 Men. And if half of them had been generally employed in that Service, it must have been easily executed as to the Numbers. But, as many of the finest Architects must have been necessarily employed in it, we may conceive that it must be very burdensome and expensive, to collect such a Number of the most exquisite and masterly Hands. And accordingly, *Herodotus* relates a Story, which implied that the King's Treasures were greatly exhausted, when he prostituted his own Daughter, in order to augment his Revenue. And, tho' this Story seems to be a Calumny raised against him, out of the People's Resentment and Indignation, on the Account of those intolerable Labours; yet it however intimates that both the Labour and Expence were immensely great, tho' the Army and Revenue were both so considerable.

The greatest Pyramid was upon a square Base, each Side of the Base being 693 Foot, and consequently it is in Circuit 2772 Feet, containing above eleven *English* Acres, in its Dimension, according to our Countryman *Greave's* Mensuration. || Its four Sides are triangular and equilateral, each Side being 693 Feet, and its perpendicular Altitude 409 Feet. It was inscribed with various Figures of Animals, and the Expences also were recorded in an Inscription, which was interpreted to *Herodotus*, that were spent on the Labourers for only Herbs and Onions, amounting to above 1600 Talents. Upon which Sir *John Marsham* starts a Doubt, whether the Use of Money was certainly known in those early Ages of the World.§ But this Difficulty of our great Author arises from his Calculation of *Suphis's* Age being synchronal to that of *Terah* the Father of *Abraham*, from *Manetho's* Dynasties. But as I think the great Pyramid was built after the Reign of *Jehosaphat*, King of *Judab*, in which Age the Valuation of Money was become common, so there is no Ground to except to the Interpretation from this Circumstance.

Cephren, succeeding *Cheops*, built another Pyramid, and gave the like Disgust to the *Egyptians*, by the like Methods, in burdening them with the Fatigues of his Works, of which only a Pyramid is mentioned. Then *Mycerinus*, his Successor, begun the third Pyramid; which, tho' greatly inferior

* *Herodot.* Lib. II. c. 124, 127. † *Diodor.* Lib. I. c. 5. ‡ *Plin. Nat. Hist.* Lib. XXXVI. c. 12. || *Greave's Pyramidograph.* Anno 1646. § *Marsh. Can. Chronic.* p. 49. Edit. *Leipfic.*

ferior to the other Two in its Dimensions, being only 300 Feet in each Side of the Square at the Base, yet it exceeded them in the Curiosity of the Work, Structure and Largeness of the Stones.* This Prince took much more popular Ways in the Government, restored the Worship of the Gods, and expended vast Sums upon the Oracles and Sacrifices, and was greatly celebrated for his Clemency and Justice. There are three lesser Pyramids near these large ones, which these Princes are said to have built for their Wives.

Nitocris, Sister to *Mycerinus*, succeeded him, and finished the Pyramid which he begun, but left incomplete; which she perhaps designed for herself. She reigned after the Builders of the three great Pyramids according to *Manetho*; *Herodotus* says her Brother reigned before her, and was slain, and she revenged his Death; † and she built the third great Pyramid, according to *Syncellus*: And the Builders of the Pyramids reigned at *Memphis*, which was but built by *Menes*. ‡

|| *Afychis* reigned next, who built the Eastern Portico of the Temple of *Vulcan*, very splendidly. For this, like all the other Portico's, had curious Figures engraven upon it; and, besides, had an infinite Number of other Embellishments of the Edifice, which shews their grand Taste for Architecture was not yet gone.

This Monarch also built a great Pyramid of Brick, which was made of the Mud brought up out of the Lake of *Mæris*. § On which was engraved on a Marble fixed in the Pyramid, an Inscription, I think, in *Greek* Letters, however, not in Hieroglyphics, since *Herodotus* gives it at large, and doth not say that it was interpreted to him. It was to this Purpose; “ Let no
“ Man compare me with the Marble Pyramids, which I excel as much as
“ *Jupiter* doth the other Gods. For they disturbing the Bottom of the Lake
“ with their Poles or Shovels, brought up whatever Mud adhered thereto,
“ and collecting all together, composed me into this Form and Size.”
“ These, adds *Sir Isaac Newton*, are the Kings, who reigned at *Memphis*,
“ and spent their Time in adorning that City, till the *Ethiopians*, *Affyrians*,
“ and others revolted, and *Egypt* lost all her Dominion abroad, and was
“ again divided into several small Kingdoms.” **

Thus far we have attended *Herodotus* in his Account of the Builders of the Pyramids, and from this Account it appears that they were all built, during the Period of *Egyptian* Greatness, after *Sesostris*, and before *Sabacon's* Invasion; *Mæris* being the first, and *Afychis* the last, to whom a Pyramid is ascribed by *Herodotus*, except that in which the twelve Kings joined. ††

The Grandeur and Stability of these stupendous Fabrics seems inimitable; however, they never have been equalled by any other State in the World. Every Thing in these magnific and superb Edifices was matchless; the Magnitude and Dimension of the Structures, the unparalleled Elegancy and Mathe-

* *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 134.* † *Ibid. c. 100.* ‡ *Newton. p. 247.* || *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 136.*
§ *Ibid.* ** *Newton. Chronol. p. 252.* †† *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 148.*

Mathematical Exactness of the Architecture, and their astonishing Duration, have made them the Admiration of the World, ever since they were first erected. Sir John Marsham calls them *Stupenda illa Monumenta quæ durant adhuc, & cum Terrarum Orbe sunt duratura*.^{*} Says he, *Those stupendous Monuments, which yet last, and shall last as long as the World*, administer Matter of Astonishment, that the *Art of Architecture* should have grown to such a Magnificence in those early Ages, when *itself* and the World was then so recent. However, this last Remark is owing to the wrong Computation of the Age of their Building, into which he was led by *Manetho*.[†]

They are certainly the oldest Structures in the World. The Materials were so durable, and they were so exactly wrought and laid; that to this Day, several of them are not in any sensible Degree defaced.

Time has ruined all the Wonders of Elegance or Grandeur of *Rome* itself, tho' the first Foundation Stone of that Empire was not laid, when the last Pyramid was finished. The *Roman* Walls across this Island appear, by their Ruins, to have been grand Works, carried over Mountains, or thro' Vallies and Rivers, as the then Lords of the World directed their Course; yet how entirely are they destroyed! Whereas the immortal Fabrics of *Egypt* have stood all the Storms and Changes of Seasons of near Three thousand Years, amidst all the Crushes of different Empires, and the Wastes of victorious Armies. So that, perhaps, no Mountain in their Neighbourhood has stood so long, without greater Alterations. Those Hills, which but rivalled them in Height at first, are many of them mouldered away from about them; while they stand an Ornament of the Prospect in the Plains of *Memphis*, when *Memphis* itself can scarce be found in its Ruins, as Dr. *Pocock* tells us.[‡] What Boundaries of adjacent Kingdoms have stood so long, as these Sepulchres of the *Memphite* Kings?

The *Alps* indeed, the Work of Nature's Hand, which *Hannibal*, *Marius*, and *Cæsar* each of them saw, which the great *Eugene* since surveyed, and are now seen by the *Sardinian* Hero and the *Bourbon* Prince; which in all Ages stood as the *Boundaries* of Kingdoms, but which Ambition has strove to remove from that Office, remain still. But these are the only Works of Man, which can boast of such Duration. And it is not, methinks, a despicable Curiosity to enquire *when* they arose, since perhaps the *History* of their Fall may not be wrote in as many thousand Years to come. They have outlived the *Egyptian*, *Assyrian*, *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Macedonian*, *Roman* and *Saracen* Empires, and may probably outlive the *Turkish*, or any other Empire now set up in the World. How much longer do the Tombs of Princes stand, after their Thrones are tottered into Ruins! But it may be an Empire of *Reason* may be at last set up, which may outlive all these Usurpations which

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Ambition

^{*} *Marsham. Canon. Chronic.* p. 47. [†] He thought that the greatest Pyramid was built by *Syphis*, or *Saphis*, whom he computed to be = to *Terah* the Father of *Abraham*. [‡] Dr. *Pocock's Hist. of the East*.

Ambition and Avarice have erected, to as little Benefit to the World, as an Egyptian Pyramid.

Several Authors have, indeed, differed widely concerning the Age and the Authors of these Prodigies of Labour, Art and Expence. *Diodorus* owns this Disagreement among the Ancients, as I have said before.

A late learned Writer, *Perizonius*, who has in general laboured to shew the Uncertainty of the ancient History of Egypt, urges many Things to invalidate the Accounts of the Age, and the Builders of the Pyramids.

* He alledges, as one Argument, that they are ascribed to so many different Kings, and to such different Ages, that there is no depending on their Accounts of them.

But to this I think it may be replied, that their Kings are called by so many different Names, that tho' different Historians may ascribe the Work to different Princes, yet they may be really the same King, with only a Difference of Name. Thus the greatest Pyramid is by *Herodote* ascribed to *Chæops*, by *Diodore* to *Chemmis*, by *Manetho* to *Syphis*, and this King is called *Anoysis* and *Apappus*, &c. by others, yet this may probably design one and the same Person.

Again; as to the different Ages in which the Kings lived, to whom they ascribed the same Work, they were wholly Strangers to Chronology. So, tho' *Syphis*, who built the greatest Pyramid, was reckoned the second King of the fourth Dynasty, and the eleventh after *Misraim*, yet they were Strangers to the Age of *Misraim*. And, according to the rectified List of *Herodotus*, *Chæops* was the fifth inclusive from *Menes*. But all their Chronology was Fiction: And no Wonder, that, in a Period of fabulous Years, they might err, without knowing whether they were an hundred or a thousand Years wide.

The same learned Author follows *Josephus*, who thought that the *Israelites* built the Pyramids during their Bondage. But *Josephus* was much more full of the *Hebrews*, than the *Egyptian* Historians were, for the Reasons we have suggested before. †

I own that this would (1.) give a good Account of the great Numbers employed in raising these enormous Structures. But then it must be (2.) observed that the Materials in which the *Hebrews* worked were Brick, made of Mortar and Straw. Now whether the Straw was for Fire, with which to burn the Brick, or it was for mixing with the Clay, either of these were much meaner Materials than those of which the Pyramids were composed. That their Works and Materials were both mean, may be gathered from the *Mosaic* History. They worked in Brick, that is, in making Brick with Straw, very unequal to the noble, curious and costly Materials of which the Pyramids were made; and therefore these were not the Builders of the great Pyramids. So that the Argument from the Numbers of these Slaves is inconclusive.

* *Perizon. Origin. Ægypt. cap. 21. p. 383.* † Vol. II. Cap. 17. Sect. 3, 4.

five. And since they were not built by them, there must have been another Time, when the Empire was so potent, that they had Hands enough, for compleating even the greatest of those prodigious Structures; though, as *Herodote* hints, there was great Oppression in forcing them into the Service.

(3.) The great *Pyramids* were very curious Edifices, of the highest and most accurate Architecture; but the *Israelites* were but Shepherds, like to be more skilful in Tents than Palaces. They had not been used to such elegant Work, and therefore could not be Proficients therein. Whereas it was according to the Customs and Manners of *Egypt*, to have all their Trades hereditary, and confined to a Family, whereby their Arts would be like to thrive more considerably; and this seems to have been the Reason, why in every Age where they had Wealth enough, they had Architects of great Perfection.

Again; another Argument advanced by *Perizonius*, to support the Allegation that the *Israelites* were the Builders of the *Pyramids*, is that which *Pliny* * observes, that there were many Vestiges of *Pyramids*, which were left incomplete, or just begun. But this may as well be accounted for, by this Conjecture, That these unfinished *Pyramids* were undertaken towards the Decay of the Empire, when Kings, who begun them, died before their Successors either could not, or would not do it.

There is a further Observation to be made on the Original of the *Pyramids*, which is their being only an unprofitable Profusion of Wealth and vain Ostentation of Power. †

But, if it be considered, that the *Egyptians* were the first who taught that the Soul of Man was immortal; ‡ and that it transmigrated thro' every System of bodily Organs, Terrestrial, Marine and Aerial, till at last it entered into a new-born human Body again: And that this Circuit of Transmigration thro' the whole Course, was performed within the Space of 3000 Years.—This Theological Sentiment may account for it, why the *Egyptians* took so much Care in embalming and preserving their Bodies, and were at such boundless Expence in preparing their sepulchral Monuments. For, as || *Diodorus* says, that they are less solicitous about their Houses, which are but a very temporary Habitation, but that in their Sepulchres they exceed all imaginable Magnificence, being eternal Dwellings. And, in this View, it will not be such a Wonder, that all this portentous Expence was laid out on their *Pyramids*, which I think were Edifices which I have proved to have come into Use after the Sepulchres, that were in the Form of Temples, with grand Portico's and Altars, in the Reigns immediately before the first Builders of the *Pyramids*.

I would add but one Note more on this Subject, namely, the Original of the Name of *Pyramids*, where the learned *Perizonius* § has a fine critical Conjecture. Some take it to be derived from πυρ, πυρῶς, which signifies Fire,

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because

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXVI. cap. 12.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *Herod. Lib. II. c. 123.* || *Diodor. Lib. I. p. 33.* § *Perizon. Origin. Ægypt. c. 21.*

because they rise in their Figure to a Point like a Flame. But this the Quantity of the Syllable doth not allow, the first Syllable in *Pyra* of *Fire* being short, whereas in *Pyramid* it is long. Others therefore have chosen another Etymology for the Word, and derive it from *Pyra* *triticum*,* understanding them to have been Granaries, founded by *Joseph* in the Years of Plenty. But there seems to be no Aptness in the Frame of the Pyramids, for any such Use, nor could there have been Hands or Wealth for such Labours then. The common Apprehension being therefore that they were the Tombs of the Kings, † *Perizonius* observes, that as the Word is originally *Egyptian*, there is a great Impropriety in seeking for the Derivation of it from the *Greek* Language. And we have this Hint in *Herodotus*, ‡ who intimates that their Kings were called *Pyromis*, which meant *Noble and Good*. So these Structures were called *Piromids*, or the *Sepulchres* prepared for their Kings. And the ancient Name for their Kings in *Egypt* was *Pharaoh*, which seems to be of the same Derivation. So that, as the *Temples* were the *Sepulchres* of their Kings that were deified, or their Gods; so the *Piromids* were the *Sepulchres* of their mortal Kings, or *Pharaoh's* of *Egypt*, and peculiar to them, while they were potent and wealthy enough to be able to erect them.

S E C T. VII.

I next proceed to consider the further Confusions introduced into the Egyptian History, by Manetho, Eratosthenes and Diodorus, or those from whom they had their Informations, even after the first Misinformations given to Herodotus himself.

(11) **T**HE *Egyptian* Priests had, indeed, certainly been very early engaged in the Scheme of corrupting their Antiquity by Additions; and had very nearly wrought it up to a Plan, and settled what Augmentations would be necessary, to give their own Antiquities an Appearance of sufficient Grandeur. For they had, before *Herodotus's* Time, not only fabled the Reigns of the Gods, of such a Duration, but 330 Generations of Kings, || betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostris*, to whom they had given distinct Names, tho' they had assigned no Actions to any of them. But it is obvious that their beginning so early in their Augmentations, arose from this Discovery, which they soon made, that they had no Number of Monarchs of their own Kingdom, to set in any Competition or Comparison with the *Hebrews*. Here therefore was a Necessity, which impelled them to set about this Work immediately, in order to save Appearances.

I have

* *Stephan. de urbib.* † *Perizon. Origin. Egypt. c. 21. p. 393, 394.* ‡ *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 143, 144.* || *Herodot. Euterp. c. 100.*

I have already observed that their first grand Scheme for Augmentation of their Antiquities, was, upon their coming acquainted with the *Hebrew Records* in the Days of *Solomon*.

And, tho' perhaps their Knowledge of the *Jewish* Antiquities might not, at first, be very exact, yet one Thing they might easily and clearly perceive, that the *Hebrews* had a vastly more distinct and more extended Knowledge of Antiquity, than the *Egyptians* themselves had any Notion of, or to which they could produce any Parallel. Hereupon their first Essay towards the Enlargement of their Antiquities, was setting up an entire Race of Gods, who first managed the Government of *Egypt* in its early Ages. But with this they had filled up all Time past, and accounted for more Years than the *Hebrews* pretended to, or was rationally credible.—But then, hereby they had indiscreetly filled up all their past Time, and reduced the History of their Kings to nothing in the other Extreme. For *Menes* being the first mortal King, *Sesac*, and all before him, were out of the Calculation. So that when they came to the Knowledge of *Alphabetical Writing*, and to be able to write History, they had but one King to mention; namely, this *Menes*, who reigned after the Dominion of the Gods was expired. Here therefore, compelled by this Necessity, they inserted 330 successive Kings, who reigned betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostrius*.—However, as they did not attain the Knowledge of *Writing*, till about the Days of *Sesac*, their earliest Writers must very well know who *Menes* was,* and that he must have reigned after *Sesac*. But this they had inserted long before the Days of *Herodotus*, for they read this List of 330 Kings, betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostrius*, out of their sacred Books. And this Report, made to *Herodotus*, was all the History of *Egypt*, which the World knew for many Ages.

(2.) The other Source of Perplexity in the *Egyptian* History, was a new Affectation of Augmentation of their Antiquities, into which *Manetho* fell. This was, I think, owing to a new Publication of the *Hebrew Scriptures* in *Greek*, which was in *Manetho's* own Age, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.—This *Manetho* was a learned and noble *Egyptian* at the Head of their *Sacra*. And about the Time that the *Septuagint* Version of the Old Testament was made, and when the *Ptolemys* had erected their Kingdom in *Egypt*, *Philadelphus* ordered *Manetho* to compile an History of his own Country. Upon the general Notions of the *Hebrew* Antiquity, the *Egyptians* set out in the Reign of *Sesac*; and this was the Foundation of those Stories which *Herodotus* transcribed from the Reports of the *Egyptian* Priests. And the World had been content with them to that Time.—But, when an inquisitive and learned Prince came to this Throne, and required a more distinct Dilucidation of those boasted Antiquities, and when the *Jewish* Records were also new published in *Greek*, the most universal Language, and fell under the Examination of so curious and learned a Person as *Manetho*, this must needs help

* And therefore they could not intend to mean *Misraim*.

because they rise in their Figure to a Point like a Flame. But this the Quantity of the Syllable doth not allow, the first Syllable in *Pyra* of *Fire* being short, whereas in *Pyramid* it is long. Others therefore have chosen another Etymology for the Word, and derive it from *Pyra* *triticum*,* understanding them to have been Granaries, founded by *Joseph* in the Years of Plenty. But there seems to be no Aptness in the Frame of the Pyramids, for any such Use, nor could there have been Hands or Wealth for such Labours then. The common Apprehension being therefore that they were the Tombs of the Kings,† *Perizonius* observes, that as the Word is originally *Egyptian*, there is a great Impropriety in seeking for the Derivation of it from the *Greek* Language. And we have this Hint in *Herodotus*,‡ who intimates that their Kings were called *Πιρμις* *Piromis*, which meant *Noble and Good*. So these Structures were called *Piromids*, or the *Sepulchres* prepared for their Kings. And the ancient Name for their Kings in *Egypt* was *Pbaraob*, which seems to be of the same Derivation. So that, as the *Temples* were the *Sepulchres* of their Kings that were deified, or their Gods; so the *Piromids* were the *Sepulchres* of their mortal Kings, or *Pbaraob's* of *Egypt*, and peculiar to them, while they were potent and wealthy enough to be able to erect them.

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* *Stephan. de urbib.* † *Perizon. Origin. Egypt. c. 21. p. 393, 394.* ‡ *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 143, 144.* || *Herodot. Euterp. c. 100.*

I have already observed that their first grand Scheme for Augmentation of their Antiquities, was, upon their coming acquainted with the *Hebrew Records* in the Days of *Solomon*.

And, tho' perhaps their Knowledge of the *Jewish* Antiquities might not, at first, be very exact, yet one Thing they might easily and clearly perceive, that the *Hebrews* had a *vastly more* distinct and more *extended* Knowledge of Antiquity, than the *Egyptians* themselves had any Notion of, or to which they could produce any Parallel. Hereupon their first Essay towards the Enlargement of their Antiquities, was setting up an entire Race of Gods, who first managed the Government of *Egypt* in its early Ages. But with this they had filled up all Time past, and accounted for more Years than the *Hebrews* pretended to, or was rationally credible.—But then, hereby they had indiscreetly filled up all their past Time, and reduced the History of their Kings to nothing in the other Extreme. For *Menes* being the first mortal King, *Sesac*, and all before him, were out of the Calculation. So that when they came to the Knowledge of *Alphabetical Writing*, and to be able to write History, they had but one King to mention; namely, this *Menes*, who reigned after the Dominion of the Gods was expired. Here therefore, compelled by this Necessity, they inserted 330 successive Kings, who reigned betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostris*.—However, as they did not attain the Knowledge of *Writing*, till about the Days of *Sesac*, their *earliest* Writers must very well know who *Menes* was,* and that he must have reigned after *Sesac*. But this they had inserted long before the Days of *Herodotus*, for they read this List of 330 Kings, betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostris*, out of their sacred Books. And this Report, made to *Herodotus*, was all the History of *Egypt*, which the World knew for many Ages.

(2.) The other Source of Perplexity in the *Egyptian* History, was a new Affectation of Augmentation of their Antiquities, into which *Manetbo* fell. This was, I think, owing to a new Publication of the *Hebrew Scriptures* in *Greek*, which was in *Manetbo's* own Age, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.—This *Manetbo* was a learned and noble *Egyptian* at the Head of their *Sacra*. And about the Time that the *Septuagint* Version of the Old Testament was made, and when the *Ptolemys* had erected their Kingdom in *Egypt*, *Philadelphus* ordered *Manetbo* to compile an History of his own Country. Upon the general Notions of the *Hebrew* Antiquity, the *Egyptians* set out in the Reign of *Sesac*; and this was the Foundation of those Stories which *Herodotus* transcribed from the Reports of the *Egyptian* Priests. And the World had been content with them to that Time.—But, when an inquisitive and learned Prince came to this Throne, and required a more distinct Dilucidation of those boasted Antiquities, and when the *Jewish* Records were also new published in *Greek*, the most universal Language, and fell under the Examination of so curious and learned a Person as *Manetbo*, this must needs help

* And therefore they could not intend to mean *Misraim*.

help him to methodize and adjust the History of his own Country. He would soon find, upon a careful Perusal of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, and comparing them with the Records of the *Egyptians*, that they contained much more punctual and consistent Accounts of ancient Times from the Beginning, at least from any parallel Period, which the *Egyptians* or any other Nation could produce.* He must also soon discover that their own Fiction of the Reigns of the *Gods*, and the enormous Duration of them, afforded little Satisfaction, as to the genuine Antiquities of his own Country, to any scrupulous and judicious Enquirer; for there were no Actions said to be performed, no Monuments remaining, worthy of Memorial, while they reigned; so that there might as well have been no Government at all.

But, as this Doctrine of the Reigns of the *Gods* was incorporated into their Religion, and became a Part of their National Faith or Creed, *Manetho* pre-faced or introduced his History with some Account of that Theological, or Historical Fable. His Work contained an Account of the *Gods*, *Demi-gods*, *Heroes* and *Mortals* that reigned in *Egypt*.†—He threw his History into the Form of *Dynasties*, which were 30 in Number, and divided into 113 Generations. Each of these *Dynasties* consisted of so many Reigns of *Kings*, each Reign comprehending such a Number of Years apiece. His Design in this Scheme seems to have been to represent these Reigns, as successive; this would have the Appearance of a more methodical Augmentation of their Antiquities, and make it look more plausible than *Herodotus's* Priests throwing in 330 Successions in a Lump. The successive Names of *Kings*, with the Years of their Reigns, and some Actions intermixed, give the whole a greater Air of genuine and authentic.—Now I doubt not but the Names and Numbers of Years in *Manetho's* *Dynasties* were generally either absolute Fiction, invented out of his own Head; or they were those Names in the sacred Books of their Temples, which were mentioned to *Herodotus*, 330 in one Series, betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostris*. And if these were the recorded Names, which the Priests before *Herodotus* had invented, *Manetho* would have little to do, but to range them in Order in Succession, and make them agree as to the Number of Years he affixed to each; and this Order of Succession must have been easy Work, where all was Fable. But it seems not wholly improbable, what I already hinted as Part of *Dr. Twells's* Conjecture; namely, that the Number of Years did agree, viz. as I think, they were made by *Manetho* to agree with the Numbers in the *Greek* Version, by putting the Years of his general Computation into *Lunar* Years, equivalent to the *Solar* Years in the *Septuagint*, *Jewish* Computations: He would have hereby a secret Standard of Time, and yet would appear near to the Calculations of *Herodotus*,

* I think that this general Ignorance of ancient Times, among all other People but the *Hebrews*, was the Foundation of *Porphry's* famous Objection against the Genuineness of the *Jewish* Antiquities, namely, that they were therefore fabulous, because more ancient than the Records of any other Nations.

† *Syncell.* p. 40.

Herodotus, which the *Greeks* had long acquiesced in, as the true Antiquity of *Egypt*.—It is true, indeed, the fifteen first Dynasties of *Manetho* seem to have been little regarded by later Writers. *Africanus* passes over whatever *Manetho* had said prior to the Reigns of the mortal Kings; which may be supposed to arise from this, that he esteemed all that he had said on the *Gods*, *Demi-gods* and *Heroes*, to be a Fable or false Theology, and therefore refers all that to the Times before the Flood, from which Time he begins his Chronography.* *Eusebius* fixes the Beginning of his Canon at the Birth of *Abraham*; and passes over the fifteen first Dynasties, which extended even long beyond the Creation, as having nothing to do with Historic Time. These *Perizonius* assigns as *Eusebius*'s Motives for doing it.†—So again, *Syncellus*, in his Series of Kings, seems to have despised the sixteen first Dynasties, and to have contracted them arbitrarily, according to his own Fancy, into twenty-five Kings, in all containing the Space of 700 Years.‡ So that, as *Perizonius* thinks, we ought to have no Regard to these Dynasties as any Way subservient to Chronology. ||

§ Sir *John Marsham*, in that learned Tract, *Canon-Chronicus*, has given us a large Account of *Egyptian* Antiquities. He considered *Egypt* to have been originally divided into four concurrent Kingdoms, *Thebes*, *This*, *Memphis*, and *Tanis*. And he formed a Table that might in one View set forth the contemporary Kings of each Kingdom, and when each Kingdom ceased, while the Line went on in another Place, and the Monarchy still continued.

But, as I am far from believing that they had any Memorials of the Kings in *Egypt* before the *Exodus*, so all this Confusion is brought into it, by *Manetho*'s attempting some Order in his Dynasties, of which he could have no Knowledge, and of which there was none. And the Labours of so many celebrated *Christian* Chronologers, to make out these Dynasties in *Manetho* into a Consistency with the Stories told to *Herodotus*, and the *Hebrew* Scriptures, is, indeed, a wonderful Labour. Hence all that Pains and Profusion of Learning and Industry, to find out the synchronal Persons and Actions in the Old Testament, to the Persons in the Dynasties of *Manetho*; tho' there never were any such Persons in being: Hence all the Labour to prove that the *Menes* of the Dynasties was the *Misraim* of *Moses*; and to compute the Lines of Descent, so as to find the other Synchronisms either in Sacred or Profane History; as under what King in the Dynasties the *Israelites* came into *Egypt*, or under what King they went out, who was the King that was drowned in the *Red Sea*, or who reigned at the *Trojan War*.

Manetho had little Trouble to feign; but what endless Trouble have they had to explain his Fictions; to shew where or when his Numbers and Calculations of Times can be made to agree with Nature and Fact. In truth, the whole first Period of *Egyptian* Affairs was buried under this thick Covering of their Ignorance, the Reign of the *Gods*.

* *Syncel.* p. 54. † *Perizon. Orig. Egypt.* p. 396. ‡ *Syncel.* p. 103. || *Perizon.* p. 397.
§ *Marsh. Can. Chron.* p. 4, 5. Edit. *Lips. Shuck.* Vol. III. p. 209.

S E C T. VIII.

Eratosthenes's *List of Theban Kings*.

* **T**HIS ancient Writer was a *Cyrenian*, who had studied at *Athens*, and was invited by *Ptolemy Evergetes* into *Egypt*, who made him one of the Keepers of the Royal Library at *Alexandria*, and commanded him to give him a Catalogue of the *Egyptian Kings*. He accordingly made a List of those Monarchs who had reigned at *Thebes*, and to every King's Name annexed the Number of Years of his Reign: This Catalogue is preserved by *Syncellus*.† It was extracted out of the most ancient Records of that Country, as the same *Syncellus* tells us. Dean *Prideaux* observes that it was probably made to supply the Defects of *Manetho*, whose Catalogue of the *Theban*, or *Diospolitan Kings* in *Egypt* did begin only where this of *Eratosthenes* ends, ‡ as Sir *John Marsham* endeavours to prove.

Bishop Cumberland, *Sir Isaac Newton* and others, having set so high a Value on this Fragment, it requires, on account of the Greatness of its Advocates and Encomiasts, that something should be further offered to justify our rejecting the Authority of this Catalogue. It must be allowed that he was commanded by *Ptolemy Evergetes* to prepare a Catalogue of *Egyptian Kings*, in the next Reign after *Manetho* had wrote his Tomes of their History; which implies that *Manetho* had not given full Satisfaction. *Eratosthenes* drew up his List of the Kings of *Thebes*, from *Menes* (whom the modern Chronologers all take to be *Misraim*) to the *Trojan War*; in a Series of 38 Princes reigning in a direct Line of Succession from *Menes*.

Now, if this Catalogue was really exact, from *Misraim* to the *Trojan War*, and was the genuine Work of *Eratosthenes*, then we must endeavour to account for it, how he could draw it up: For, as the learned Dean *Prideaux* observes, there is nothing of profane Antiquity reaches higher; and, as I think, nothing near so high.

1. This Exactness cannot be accounted for, from any Truth or Exactness in the *Egyptian Records* themselves, which was (I think) impossible. For, during the first Parts of these pretended Records, there was no Writing in the World; and no Tradition could be so perfect, for so many Years, in that State of the World's Longevity; for the Age of Man shortened very fast, from and after the Exodus of the *Hebrews*.

And, if there could be no old Records, no peculiar Accuracy in the Examination of what ancient Remains he met with, could make the Result of the Examination very exact and perfect.

2. If

* *Voss. de Hist. Græc. Lib. I. c. 17. Dr. Shuckf. Vol. III. p. 199. † Syncell. p. 91, 147.*
 ‡ *Prid. Connect. Vol. II. p. 87. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 3.*

2. If the Catalogue led up to *Menes*, (which however did not mean *Misraim*, in the Records of the ancient *Egyptians*.) But, if it be to be taken for *Misraim*, and the List will count upwards to his Age, it may be in some measure accounted for by this. He had the *Greek* Version of the *Hebrew* Scriptures in his Custody, and being Keeper of the *Alexandrian* Library, he had constant Access to it; and being a Person of eminent Parts and Learning, particularly a great Master of Numbers and Calculations, he could easily compute the whole Sum of the *Times*, set down in the sacred Books of the *Jews*: From the Creation to the Flood; from the Flood to the Call of *Abraham*; from the Call of *Abraham* to the Going out of *Egypt*; from the *Exodus* or going out, to the Building of *Solomon's* Temple.—So that here was a good Foundation for Chronology, and a good Ground to conjecture the Time of beginning the Kingdom of *Egypt* after the Flood; it being about the Age of *Noah's* Grandson, according to *Moses*.

3. He had *Manetho's* *Dynasties*, which (besides the sacred Books of the *Egyptians*) might furnish him with *Names enough* for filling up his Catalogue, both with Numbers of Kings Reigns, and the Years of their Reigns: For they certainly had coined Names enough, that might answer such a Purpose, having before the Days of *Herodotus* invented 330 Successions, in the Space betwixt *Menes* and *Sesostris*.*

Now as *Eratoſthenes* knew what Time had run out from the Flood, to the Building *Solomon's* Temple, according to the *Septuagint* Version of the *Jewish* Records; and, as he had *Manetho's* Books, as well as those sacred Records in their Temples, to furnish him with Names of Kings enough; so he could divide the Sum of the Times from the founding of the Kingdom of *Egypt* to the Exit of *Israel* out of it, and from that *Exit* to the Building of the Temple, or to the Time where he fixed the *Trojan* War;—he could, I say, divide that Space of Time into such a Number of Reigns, and affix to each Reign such a Number of Years, as would make up that Time. Hereby he would be able to draw up a List, which would more plausibly answer the King's Expectations, and come nearer to *Herodotus's* Number of Reigns. But then this was a *made* List, as well as that of *Manetho*, extracted from no genuine Records, tho' it might be compiled out of several pretended ones.

4. It is, I acknowledge, difficult to account for, how this learned *Greek* should be brought to have so high a Veneration for the *Hebrew* Scriptures, as to build upon them, as the best Standard and Measure of Time, from the Beginning of the World: But it may be accounted for, thus. There was no other regular Computation of Time in all the World; and he would surely make use of the best he could have Access to, whatever Prejudices he might have entertained against that People, in whose Custody it was found. The *Egyptian* Computation of past Time was made by the computing the Reigns

* *Herodot.* Lib. II. c. 100.

of the *Gods*; but it must be very obscure and unintelligible to determine the Beginning of the Reign of a *God*, or to ascertain the Succession of those superior Beings to one another. So that this learned Antiquary would be like to acquiesce in an Account of Facts which were intelligible, and of which he could have a Notion, as of other common, human History, rather than the unintelligible and inexplicable and unexaminable Successions of *Gods*, or superior Beings on this Earth.—So that, if the Advocates for this celebrated Catalogue could prove that it naturally fills up the Time from the *Misraim* of *Moses* to the *Trojan War*; yet it may be accounted for, by *Eratosthenes's* computing the Time out of the Accounts of the *Greek Version* of the *Bible*, and filling up that Space of Time with *Egyptian Names* of Kings, and a Number of Years answerable to this general Sum; without supposing that there were any genuine Records of *Egypt* of those primitive Times, before *Alphabetical Writing* was known there.

S E C T. IX.

On the State of the Egyptian Empire from its beginning to decline, till its final Overthrow.

WE have brought down the History of this Monarchy from its Rise, thro' a Succession of great Princes, who each of them performed some splendid Work, which preserved their Fame and Memory, long after both themselves, and the Empire itself, was fallen; many of which stand to this Day, as a Defiance to the Attempts of all more modern Ambition, to equal them.

* Sir *John Marsham* limits the Continuance of the Greatness of the *Egyptian Empire*, to what he reckons the 16th Century of the *Egyptian Era*, from *Menes* to *Thuoris*, which however are but fabled Names in the Dynasties, tho' ending about this Time. But Sir *Isaac Newton* † more correctly calculates the Time of the Fall or Declension of its Power, and ascribes it to a Concurrence of Circumstances naturally tending to produce such a Revolution: For he calls this the Season of *weakening* the Empire by its *subdividing* into smaller Kingdoms, and the *Invading*, or the *Revolt* of its powerful Neighbours, who had perhaps been tributary before. I think therefore that, when their Historian *Herodotus* mentions so many Emperors, famous for their magnificent Works; and closes the Account of them with *Asychis*, as his Successor, who was expelled by an Invader, *Sabakon* the *Æthiopian*, in the Beginning of his Reign, this denotes the Period of their *Decline* of Power, as it specifies those concurrent Events, which would naturally conspire and co-operate to the Eclipse of the *Egyptian Glory*.

Here

* *Marsh. Can. Chron.* p. 467. † *Newton*, p. 252.

Here are both these Circumstances uniting, the *Division* of *Egypt* itself, and then the *Invasion* of Foreigners; the first Event might occasion the second.—That the Kingdom of *Egypt* was divided into several smaller Kingdoms about this Time, both Sir *John Marsham*,* and Sir *Isaac Newton* † agree. And it may be inferred from this, viz. that *Sabachon* the *Æthiopian* expelled one King, *Anyfis*; he took another King, *Bocchoris*, and burnt him alive; and that he slew another King, *Nechus*, Father of *Psammetichus*, and himself reigned in *Egypt* as their greatest King or Emperor, and was— with each of them. What was the Number of these contemporary Kingdoms, *Marsham* thinks cannot be determined, ‡ but certainly the more they were, they were proportionably weaker. Sir *Isaac Newton* offers this Conjecture, as to their Number: “ One of these Kingdoms was (I think) at *Memphis* “ under *Gnephaetus*, and his Son and Successor *Bocchoris*. *Gnephaetus* cursed “ *Menes* for his Luxury, and caused the Curse to be entered in the Temple “ of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, and therefore reigned over *Thebais*, and *Bocchoris* “ sent in a wild Bull upon the God *Mnevis* at *Heliopolis*. Another of these “ Kingdoms was at *Anyfis*, for *Anyfis* was of the City of *Anyfis*, as *Herodo-* “ *tus* says. A third was at *Sais*, under *Stephanathis*, *Necepsus*, and *Nechus*. “ And a fourth was at *Tanis* or *Zoan*, under *Petubastes*, *Osorchon* and *Psam-* “ *mis*. And *Egypt* being weakened by this Division, was invaded and con- “ quered by the *Ethiopians* under *Sabachon*, who slew *Bocchoris* and *Nechus*, “ and made *Anyfis* fly. The *Olympiads* begun in the Reign of *Petubastes*, “ and the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* in the 22d Year of *Bocchoris*, according to “ *Africanus*.” ||

On the Death of the last Builder of Pyramids, *Anyfis* succeeded, tho' it doth not seem soon after; but as he was of the City of *Anyfis*, it is probable he was not of the Imperial Line, nor Emperor of *Egypt*; but set up in his own City; which Sir *Isaac* thinks to be that *Hanes* mentioned, *Isa.* xxx. 4. And indeed the Prophet doth there represent the Strength of *Egypt* as a Shadow; and that there was some Division among them, to impair it further. These Divisions might encourage *Sabachon* to make this Inroad on the Country; § and it must be soon after *Anyfis*'s Accession, for *Herodotus* assigns a Reign of 50 Years in *Egypt* to *Sabachon*; and besides he is said to have slain two Kings in the Generations younger than himself. Their Order will be thus:

25 ^o Dynast. <i>Africanus</i> .	26 ^o Dynast. of <i>Africanus</i> .	<i>Memphis</i> .	<i>Tanis</i> .
<i>Æthiopum</i> .	<i>Saitarum</i> .		
1. <i>Sabachon</i> .	1. <i>Stephanites</i> .	<i>Gnephaetus</i> .	<i>Petubastes</i> .
2. <i>Sevechus</i> , or <i>Sethon</i> .	2. <i>Necepsus</i> .	<i>Bocchoris</i> .	<i>Osorchon</i> .
3. <i>Taracus</i> .	3. <i>Nechus</i> .		<i>Psammis</i> .
	4. <i>Psammetichus</i> .		
	M m 2		And

* *Marsh. Can. Chron.* p. 473. † *Newt.* p. 252, 253. ‡ *Marsh.* Ibid. || *Newton.* p. 253.
§ So that probably *Sabachon*'s Invasion was some Time after the Division of the Kingdom, perhaps not in the Reign of *Gnephaetus*, who seems to have been a great Prince, but in that of his Son *Bocchoris*.

And it is probable that he first seized the old Capital City, that of *Thebes*, both as it was nearest to his own Country, *Ethiopia*, and opened his Way to the Empire of *Egypt*; *Anyfis* immediately fled, and so he left his Kingdom also, to him; and he must have reigned long over the main Part of *Egypt*, for he slew *Bocchoris* and *Necus*, by which he probably subdued the whole Kingdom, over the several Parts of which they had reigned, before these his Victories over these Princes successively took place.

Now if we attend to the Scripture-History, it will abundantly clear these Particulars, which the Profane Historians have left either confused or obscure. The *sacred* Volumes have especially contributed to the illustrating *Pagan* History, by mentioning so many of the Princes in their true *Chronological* Place, in the Course of *Time*.

The *first* great Monarchy in the World was that of *Egypt*, set up by *Sesostris* or *Sesac*, who is named in Scripture as Contemporary to *Rehoboam*. This Empire must have been of great Wealth and Extent by all that their *own* *Historians* say of that Reign; and that it must have continued so a considerable Time, will undeniably appear from the unexceptionable ancient *Inscriptions* on their Obelisks; and other vast *Works*, which remain to this Day. For there can be no plausible Reason for *denying* *Inscriptions* of such vast Antiquity; or for so much as *questioning* their Grandeur and Power, who could execute such enormous Works, as are to this Day Evidences of it. These are all like the Productions of a great Empire: Succeeding Empires imitated them in the same. *Nineveh's* Greatness sprung out of the Grandeur of the *Assyrian* Empire, and *Babylon's* from that of *Chaldaea*. For this City was built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Dan. iv. 30.* And *Nineveh* no doubt grew considerably, as that Empire grew.

The *Egyptian* *Historians* name no Pyramids, being built after *Asychis* in *Herodotus*, except one by the twelve Kings.* But they mention *Anyfis*, the Successor, as expelled by *Sabakon* the *Ethiopian*, and several other Kings in *Egypt*, as conquered by that one Invader *Sabakon*; so that they must have been Contemporaries with *Sabakon*. Therefore the Kingdom of *Egypt* was then divided into several Kingdoms. The Scripture-History names this Monarch by the Name of *So*, King of *Egypt*, to whom *Hoshea* the last King of *Israel* sent Messengers, *2 Kings xvii. 4.* And there seems to be some Peculiarity in his Circumstances, for he is not called *Pharaoh*, but by his Name *So*, and yet he was King of *Egypt*, to whom *Hoshea* applied, as the most potent Ally he could find.

Whatever Dominion the *Egyptian* Empire had, it was weakened by their own Emulations and Divisions at *Home*; it was straitened on the *West* and *South* by the *Ethiopian* Revolt or Invasion; and on the *East* and *North* by the growing Power of the *Assyrians*, who now begun to be mentioned

* *Herod. Euterp. c. 148.* Yet he doth not say that the twelve Kings built that Pyramid, but only that there was one near the Corner of the Labyrinth.

tioned in almost every Chapter of the *sacred* Records of the *Hebrews*, and therefore were now growing powerful.

These concurrent Circumstances tended to its Fall; and, as the *Assyrian* Monarchs were never mentioned before the Days of *Pul*, or *Belus*, who invaded the Kingdom of *Israel* in the Days of *Menahem*, who begun to reign over *Israel*, in the 39th of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, 2 Kings xv. 17, 19. So *Pul*'s Successors *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Shalmonasser*, *Sennacherib*, &c. made great Advances in Power, *Westward*; so that it is evident the *Assyrian Empire* at this Time ROSE; and, when it rose, there was no *Empire* to contend with it, but that of *Egypt*; for there was no other great *Empire* to which the oppressed neighbouring Kingdoms looked, for Alliances, against the new Power of the *Assyrians*, but only *Egypt*. And, as *Egypt* was daily becoming weaker, and *Assyria* stronger, so the Effect of these *Egyptian* Alliances was this, that they daily more failed those that confided in them. An Instance of this we have in Scripture-History; *Sabacou*, or *So*, was applied to by *Hoshea* the last King of *Israel*, for an Alliance against the *Assyrian* Power, to which at that Time he was tributary, and the *Assyrian* put him in Prison, and conquered his Kingdom. This Message, sent by *Hoshea* to the King of *Egypt*, was in the fourth of *Hezekiah*, Anno *Nabonassar*. 24. Now, if *So*, or *Sabacou* reigned long, as *Herodotus* says, then the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* might begin in his Reign, and yet this proposed Conspiracy with *Hoshea* might be in An. *Nabon.* 24. as Sir *Isaac Newton* computes it. For we need not suppose that *Sabacou* was exactly = *Nabonassar*, but that the fugitive *Egyptians*, who, as Sir *Isaac Newton* hints, fled from his Invasion of *Egypt* to *Babylon*, and carried with them the *Egyptian* Year of 365 Days, and the Study of Astronomy, might fly after *Nabonassar* was fixed in the Throne of *Babylon*; and, tho' they dated the *Nabonassarean* *Æra* from the first Year of that King's Reign, which was the 22d Year of *Bocchoris*, yet this will allow that *Sabacou* might conquer *Bocchoris*, or some other Provinces before; and yet be alive in the 24th of *Nabonassar*.

About the Beginning of *Sabacou*, *Tiglath-Pileser* = *Nabonassar*, was King of *Assyria*; in *Hoshea*'s Time, *Salmoneser* was King of *Assyria*; but, when *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*, *Sennacherib* was come to the Throne of *Assyria*. This Invasion of *Sennacherib* was in the 14th of *Hezekiah*, *Nabon.* 34. 2 Kings xviii. 13. when he speaks of *Assyrian* Conquests, it seems as if he himself thought them but recent Things, fresh in Memory, for he enumerates *Samaria* among them, 2 Kings xviii. 34. And he speaks of *Egypt* in Language that imports it was a falling Empire. He thought *Hezekiah* trusted in *Egypt*, therefore he thought them Confederates, and calls it a *bruised Reed* that would fail those that leaned to it; implying, that tho' it had been potent, it was now weak, 2 Kings xviii. 21.

Herodotus's Story of *Sethon*'s Deliverance from *Sennacherib*, implies that the *Egyptians* thought there was something miraculous in it, from the Inscription

scription on *Sethon's* Statue, to this Purpose: WHOEVER SEES ME, LET HIM BE RELIGIOUS. His Statue had a *Mouse* in its Hand, the Symbol of Destruction among the *Egyptians*, and they told this Story their own Way: That the *Assyrian* Army was assaulted in the Night by an infinite Number of Field-Mice, which gnawed their Bow-strings, the Straps of their Shields and Helmets, so that they were wholly disarmed in the Morning, and fled: That is, they met with a great Destruction, as the Bible also informs us, *vid.* 2 *Kings* xix. 35. *Herodot.* Lib. II. c. 141, 142.

Tirbakab the *Ethiopian* was also a Confederate with *Sethon*. For at this Time *Sennacherib* was told that he was advancing with an Army against him, 2 *Kings* xix. 9. Now *Tirbakab* might either be the Son or Brother of *Sethon*, both which were *Ethiopians*.—So that now here is a very natural Coincidence of Circumstances, to make out the Probability of all these Branches of History, taken both from the Bible and *Herodotus*.—*Egypt*, which had been great, was weakening: First, by dividing their Kingdom among themselves. Secondly, by the Invasion of the *Ethiopians*. Thirdly, by the rapid Conquests of the *Assyrians* upon their *Asiatic* Provinces. Fourthly, by the Defeat of *Sennacherib* they were relieved a little; for *Tirbakab* quietly succeeded *Sethon*, according to *Africanus*, and carried his Arms Westward thro' *Lybia* and *Afric*, as far as the *Streights*. But this again is a natural Circumstance, he had a Mind to make his Power in *Afric* great, but meddled not with *Asia*, where the *Assyrians* were too potent to attack, or oppose.

This intimates that the *Assyrian* Power grew very fast, for they did not only conquer the lesser States in Vicinity to them, which had been Parts of the *Egyptian* Empire, but at last invaded *Egypt* itself.

Sennacherib first attempted it, but miscarried, by a remarkable Defeat of his Army by a *Blast*, or a sudden Visitation of God. But his Son and Successor *Affer-haddon*,* actually invaded and conquered it. This indeed was in the latter Part of his Reign, after he was considerably increased in Power, by the Accession of *Babylon* and several other Territories to his Empire. He conquered *Babylon* about the Year of *Nabonassar* 68, and transplanted many Captives from *Babylon*, *Cutha*, &c. into the Regions of *Samaria* and *Syria*, 2 *Kings* xvii. 34. This Captivity has not indeed a Date put to it, in the *Hebrew* Historians Account of it. And tho' it is related in the same Chapter with the taking of *Samaria*, ver. 6. yet it cannot be the same Captivity; for in this, 2 *Kings* xvii. 24. it is said that several from *Babylon* were carried Captive, and that these *Babylonian* Captives, when removed into *Samaria*, used their own Country Gods, ver. 31. the Men of *Babylon* made *Succoth-Benoth*, &c. But at this Time the King of *Assyria* had not conquered *Babylon*, and could not therefore either transplant *Babylonian* Captives to *Samaria*, or the Remnant of the *Israelites* to *Chaldaea*. But the King, to whom this Transaction refers, was both King of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, and there was none before *Affer-haddon*,

* *Marsham. Can. Chronic.* p. 514.

baddon, who was Master of both these Kingdoms ; and that *Affer-baddon* carried the King of *Judab* Captive to *Babylon*, is evident from 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 11.

Again ; there was a distinct Prophecy, *Isa.* vii. 1—8. That, in 65 Years after that Prophecy, *Samaria* should cease to be a People. This Prophecy was given out about the First of *Abaz* ; it was in the Beginning of his Reign, 2 *Kings* xv. 37. and xvi. 6. But *Samaria* was taken, and a great Part of the People taken and carried into Captivity, in the sixth Year of *Hezekiah*, which was but 22 Years after the Prophecy ; so that it seems to point to a further Event, in which *Ephraim* was more thoroughly broken, and these Captives were brought, one would think, in the Room of the Remains of the *Israelites*, that were now so entirely carried away, that not a Priest was left in the Country, 2 *Kings* xvii. 26, 27. This Event was 65 Years after the Beginning of *Abaz*, and so it must have been in the 20th of *Manasseh*, *An. Nabonaf.* 69. for the Kings of *Judab* reigned $16 + 29 + 20 = 65$ Years, betwixt the first of *Abaz* and 20th of *Manasseh*. About this Time *Tartan** was sent by *Sargon* King of *Assyria* against *Ashdod*, a Town then subject to *Judea*, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 6. and he took it, *Isa.* xx. 1. But this *Sargon* could not be *Sennacherib* ; for he never was King of *Babylon*, tho' his Son *Affer-baddon* was. Upon securing this Post, as Sir *Isaac Newton* thinks, the *Assyrians* beat the *Jews*, and took *Manasseh* Captive, and subdued *Judea*, 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 11.

The same Year that *Tartan* took *Ashdod*, was the Prophecy of the Captivity of *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, by the King of *Assyria*, *Isa.* xx. 3, 4, 5. So that this taking of *Ashdod*, and the Captivity of *Manasseh*, and Conquest of *Judea*, were before the Invasion of *Egypt* ; which Invasion ended in the leading Captive the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians*, and detaining them under those ignominious Oppressions, for the Space of three Years, and hereby an End was put to the Reign of the *Ethiopians* over *Egypt*, which first begun under *Sabacon*, and was continued under *Sethon*, and *Tirhakah*, who was the last of the *Ethiopian* Monarchs over *Egypt*.

Sir *Isaac Newton*,† I think, very justly suggests the Interpretation of the Prophecy, and the Sign of the Prophet's walking three Years naked and bare-foot, to signify, that *Affer-baddon* should reign three Years over the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, that is, till his Death, *Isa.* xx. 3, 4. Now this happened in the Year of *Nabonassar* 81. and therefore he invaded *Egypt* ; and put an End to the Reign of the *Ethiopians* there, in the Year of *Nabonassar* 78 ; so that they, under *Sabacon* and his Successors *Sethon* and *Tirhakah*, reigned over *Egypt* about 80 Years ; *Herodotus* allots 50 Years to *Sabacon* and *Africanus*, 14 Years to *Sevechus*, and 18 to *Tirhakah*, which brings it to about that Sum.

After *Affer-baddon*'s Death, who was the first *Assyrian* Conqueror of *Egypt*, the *Egyptians* revolted from the *Assyrians*, and united under 12 contemporary Monarchs, who reigned jointly 15 Years ; probably including the three Years

* *Marsh. Can. Chron.* p. 515.

† *Newton. Chronol.* p. 258.

Years of *Affer-baddon*, because the *Egyptians* do not reckon him among their Kings.*

Upon this Union of the Strength of *Egypt* into one Body again, the Glory of the Kingdom seemed in some Degree to break out once more, before it quite set. For these twelve Princes undertook one vast Work more, that of the famous *Labyrinth* near the Lake of *Mæris*, which *Herodotus* describes as a Work of vast Magnificence. † It consisted of two Parts, one Subterranean, and the other an higher Range of Edifices over the Subterranean ones. There were in the upper Part of the Fabric, twelve Halls for their Palaces, with correspondent Apartments to each, 3500 in Number. The subterranean Parts were the Sepulchres of the Kings, and the Burying-Places of the Sacred Crocodiles, and were not allowed to be seen in *Herodotus's* Time; but the superior Parts he saw, and describes as very exquisite, even transcending the common Works of Man.

But at last *Psammetichus* conquered all the rest, and reigned long, sole Monarch of *Egypt*. He revived the ancient *Egyptian* Taste for sacred Edifices, and built the last Portico of the Temple of *Vulcan*, which Temple was founded, as *Sir Isaac Newton* says, about 260 Years before, by *Menes*. He not only finished the Temple with great Magnificence, but enclosed all that grand Fabric with a Wall; but opposite to that Portico, which he built, he also erected a magnificent Hall, supported on Colossus's instead of Pillars, 12 Cubits high, in which their *Apis* was to be fed, and kept with high superstitious Care. He established Commerce betwixt the *Egyptians* and the *Ionians*, *Carians*, and other Maritime Countries; by which he greatly enriched his own Kingdom. *Herodotus* tells a Story of his Wars with the neighbouring Provinces of *Syria*, which were then under the Empire of *Assyria*, and that he blockaded *Azotus*, that is, *Ashdod*; and spent 29 Years in that Siege, before he took it. He also, probably, during some Part of that long Siege, went to meet the *Scythians* that had invaded *Asia*, and bought them off, so that they marched no further, but left the *Egyptian* Borders free. ‡ This Prince reigned 54 Years in all.

Necus his Son succeeded him. He was a great Prince, and of great Designs. He attempted to join the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, by drawing a Canal from the one to the other; but after he had consumed 120,000 Men in the Work, he was constrained to desist, as *Herodotus* says, by Admonition of the Oracle, which intimated to him that this Work would be in favour of the *Barbarians*. He then turned his Care to Military Affairs, and to Naval Preparations, in the first of which he undertook a War with the *Assyrians*; and marching thro' *Judæa* towards *Carchemish*, on the *Euphrates*, *Josiah* opposed him, || 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20, 21. And, as he would not be persuaded

* *Newt. Chronol.* p. 259. † *Herod. Euterp.* c. 148. ‡ *Herod. Lib.* II. c. 158. || *Sir John Marsham* thinks that, as the *Jews* had been under the *Assyrian* Power since the Captivity of *Manasseh*, *Josiah* thought himself, as a tributary Prince, obliged to oppose *Necoh*. *Can. Chron.* p. 568.

persuaded to decline the Engagement, the Armies met in the Valley of *Megiddo*, and *Josiah* was mortally wounded in the Action. This War of *Necus* is expressly mentioned by *Herodotus*,* and the Victory at *Magdolis*, which was followed by the taking *Cadytis*, a great City of *Syria*, (that is *Jerusalem*) is related, very agreeable to what the sacred Historians say of it, 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 3, 4.

This *Necus* also is said by *Herodotus*, in his Naval Improvements, to have been the first who laid the Scheme of Sailing round *Afric*.† He accordingly ordered Navies to be built in the *Mediterranean* Sea, others in the *Arabian* Gulph, or the *Red Sea*. And having obtained some of the most expert *Phœnician* Mariners, with which he manned his Ships in the *Red Sea*, he sent them out, thro' what is now called the Streights of *Babel-mandel*, to search the Coasts of *Africa*. And they sailed round *Africa*, and returned thro' the Streights of *Gibraltar* into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and so up the *Nile*, home again into *Egypt*. This Voyage was performed in less than three Years. It was indeed an extraordinary Voyage to be made in those early Ages of the World, before the Use of the Loadstone was known. This Voyage was performed above 2000 Years before *Vasquez de Gama*, a *Portuguese*, discovered the Cape of *Good-Hope*, *An. Dom.* 1497. and thus found out the same Way from these North-west Parts, which these *Phœnicians* sent by *Pharaob-Necob* first discovered from the *Red Sea* to the Pillars of *Hercules*, and the Entrance of the *Mediterranean* Sea.‡

This Design seems to have been among the last great Attempts of the old *Egyptian* Kings for the Enlargement of their Power. For, as the *Assyrians* were grown so formidable in the Continent of *Asia*, this projecting Monarch turned his Thoughts another Way, and tried to make new Discoveries for the aggrandizing his Empire, by stretching it a different Way, where a conquering Army had not been known to reach. But, as he died in the 17th Year of his Reign, whatever new Designs he had formed, perished with him.

Psammitis his Son succeeded him. And there is nothing remarkable in his Reign, except an Embassy sent by the *Eleans*, who presided over the famous *Olympic* Games in *Greece*.|| The *Elean* Ambassadors boasted that those Games were the most equitably adjusted for determining the Differences among the Combatants and Competitors for the Prize; so that even the *Egyptians* themselves, tho' acknowledged to be the wisest of Men, could not have found out more just and unexceptionable Regulations. The King hearing of these Enquiries made by the *Eleans*, convened the most penetrating and sagacious Men of his Court to give their Judgment in the Debate. And, upon asking the *Eleans*, whether any of their own Citizens were allowed to contend with the Strangers for the Prize, and being informed

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that

* *Herod.* Lib. II. c. 159.
|| *Herodot.* Lib. II. c. 160.

† *Ibid.* Lib. IV. c. 42.

‡ *Prid. Connect.* Vol. I. p. 47.

that they were free to all *Greece*; the *Egyptian* Sages replied, that they were not Games instituted on the most equitable Foundation, since it would be natural for the Judges to favour a Fellow-Citizen, to the Injury of the Stranger that should happen to be in the Competition.—This Story, if true, is an Evidence, that the *Egyptians* were in great Reputation for their Sagacity, and the Equitableness of their Laws and Constitutions, in those Ages of Antiquity; which remained when the Empire was reduced within moderate Bounds. But there is no Hint of any Military Undertaking, except an Expedition into *Ethiopia*, which seems to be a further Prosecution of *Necus's* Scheme, in searching the South Coast of *Afric*. But this King reigned but six Years in all.

APRIES, Son of *Psammiss*, who is the *Pharaoh-Hophra* of the Scriptures, succeeded his Father; and is represented by *Herodotus* as one of the most fortunate Princes of those Ages, next to his Grandfather *Psammetichus*. He reigned 25 Years, but *Egypt*, about the End of his Reign, was subdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *An. Nabonassar* 178, and remained in Subjection to *Babylon*, 40 Years. That it was near the End of his Reign appears, *Jer.* xliv. 30. and that it should continue in Subjection to *Babylon* 40 Years, appears from *Ezek.* xxix. 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19. That is almost all the Reign of *Amasis*, who was of *Plebeian* Birth,* set over them by the Conqueror, as *Sir Isaac Newton* says, and the 40 Years ended with the Death of *Cyrus*, who reigned over *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, according to *Xenophon*. And the *Persian* Empire was said to extend from *India* to *Ethiopia*, *Esther* i. 1.

But after four or five Years more, the Kingdom was invaded and conquered by *Cambyfes*, *An. Nabonassar*, 224. and has almost ever since remained in Servitude, a mean People, as predicted by the Prophets, *Ezek.* xxix. 14, 15.

CHAP. XIX.

On the Pastor Kings of Egypt.

THERE are some Things in the *Egyptian* History, that one knows not how to bring in, in a regular Order, in the Course of their Affairs; thro' the unspeakable Defects and Confusion of their Chronology. But, as the *Pastors* are too considerable to be quite overlooked, I have chose to insert them, without any Connection with the other Parts, by themselves, in this Chapter, in the Close of the *Egyptian History*; tho' I doubt not but the Great *Newton* has introduced them in their proper Place, at the Beginning of all *Pagan History*, and prior thereto.

The

* *Herodot.* Lib. II. cap. 172.

The *Pastors* Invasion of *Egypt*, and their erecting the *Pastor* Kingdom there, is a remarkable Transaction ; it will be therefore necessary to enquire, *who* these *Pastors* were ; from what *Country* they came ; and about *what Time* in the Course of the *Egyptian* Story, they either made their *Invasion*, or were finally *expelled*. If we could satisfactorily determine either of these two last Enquiries, one would think the other might be easily determined : For *Manetho* says, they were 511 Years in *Egypt*. So that, if we could fix the Time of their Expulsion, by counting 511 Years backward, we might determine *when* they came ; and *vice versa*. But *Manetho's* Numbers are so little to be depended upon, that there could not be full Satisfaction obtained from this.

Learned Men have widely differed in their Accounts of, or Conjectures about, these *Phœnician* or *Arabian* Invaders, who are commonly called the *Pastors*, and this as to their *Age* as well as *Country*.—Some have thought them to have been the *Canaanites*, who invaded *Egypt* in the *earliest* Ages, and that were returned into *Canaan* before *Abraham's* Death ; as *Usher*, *Bedford*, and *Cumberland*, who are nearly in the same Sentiments concerning their Age and Country. But there is no Probability, that there could be sufficient Numbers of Mankind in that Region, and in that Age of the World, for such vast Military Undertakings. Sir *John Marsham* seems to think them *Arabians* ; * *Africanus* thought them to be *Phœnicians* ; † *Dr. Shuckford* takes them to have been the *Horites* that were expelled by the Posterity of *Esau*. ‡ —Some have taken these *Pastor* Kings for the *Hebrews*, as *Josephus* of old, whom *Perizonius* follows. || But I think we have no Evidence that *Manetho* ever mentions the *Hebrews* Affairs in all his History. — But not further to insist on the Conjectures of different Writers, I shall acquiesce in the Great *Newton's* Sentiments, viz. that these *Pastors* were the *Canaanites*, who fled from *Joshuab*, about the Middle of his Conquests of *Canaan*. And this is a Thought, which I think no other Author has hit upon but himself. How vastly is the World indebted to that Prodigy of Learning, and Genius, whose Penetration so seldom met with Difficulties too hard for it ! — For the Illustration of this Opinion, I shall suggest the following Considerations ; which I doubt not were clear in our great Author's Mind, tho' he thought fit to omit them.

* *Canon. Chron.* p. 105, 106.
|| *Perizon.* p. 329.

† *Syncell.* p. 61.

‡ *Shuckford. Connect.* Vol. II. p. 2.

S E C T. I.

The Story of the Pastors Invasion, is an old Egyptian Tradition.

IT must be owned that, tho' we alledge it to be so considerable a Matter in the *Egyptian* Story, yet there is no other ancient Author who makes Mention of it, except *Manetho*, or those who derive it from him; as *Josephus*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, and the Moderns who have learned it from them.* *Herodotus* appears to have known nothing of the *Israelites* before the *Exodus*, nor doth he take Notice of the *Pastor* Nation, either as to their invading *Egypt*, their Conquest of it, the Kingdom which they erected there, or their final Expulsion from the Country. And, tho' *Diodorus Siculus* seems to have known something of the Character of *Moses*, yet it is a Question whether he knew any Thing of the State of the *Hebrews*, and either their Bondage there, or their Coming away from *Egypt*, except this Story of the *Pastors* Expulsion in a diseased leprous Condition; which *Josephus* quotes from *Manetho*, in his first Book against *Appion*. However, *Diodorus* doth not mention it,† either because he did not believe it belonged to them; or that he thought it a spiteful Fiction of the *Sabennite*, with Regard to their being in such a diseased State; or that he did not meet with this Story among the Priests of *Egypt*.—But, as *Manetho* mentions this Affair, of the *Pastors* Invasion, as a remarkable Event relating to his own Nation; and, as a Mark of the Wrath of the Gods; as further, he recites it with such Circumstances as do not agree to the *Israelites*, according to any Part of *Moses's* History of that People, either their coming into *Egypt*, their staying there, or their going out of it: Again, as the Story is told by *Manetho*, it is attended with such Circumstances, as are too honourable for the *Jews*, to be expected to be fabled by *Manetho*. It seems to be therefore, an old *Egyptian* Tradition, which relates to some real Invasion upon the *Egyptians* from the Eastern Quarter; and that *Manetho* relates it, as he really found it, in the main, and that it had no original Reference at all to the *Hebrew* Nation.

S E C T. II.

The Pastors Invasion could not be an Event that happened before the Exodus.

THIS Invasion of the *Pastors* could not be an Event which happened before the *Exodus* of the Children of *Israel* out of the Country. For, (1.) They had no Use of Letters in *Egypt* at the Time of the *Exodus*, as we have

* *Perizon. Orig. Egypt. p. 329.* † *Diodor. Frag. Lib. XL.*

have endeavoured to clear already, and therefore there could be no ancient *Egyptian* History of any Events before that Time, out of which *Manetho* could extract this Account of the *Pastors* Invasion.

(2.) Tho' there was certainly Learning in *Egypt* before the Egression of the *Hebrews*, as *Moses* testifies; and, as a traditional Knowledge of their past Affairs, which some of their wisest Men set themselves to study, and commit to Memory, might be called *Learning* or Knowledge, whether it was obtained by *verbal* Teaching or *Reading*: Yet, as I have already observed, they could not have this traditional Knowledge of their *past* Affairs, transmitted to them, after the disastrous Event of the *Red Sea*.—The State of the *Egyptian* Nation was very calamitous about that Time, according to *Moses*. Their First-born were all cut off in one fatal Night; in which Number many of their most hopeful Youth might fall. And then the Flower of *Egypt*, not only their bravest Men, but the most eminent for Learning, Nobility and Rank perished with their obstinate and perverse Monarch at the *Red Sea*; *Exod.* xiv. 23.

Their Priests were among their Nobles and great Men. They were probably not only among the chief Counsellors of the Kingdom, but among their principal Officers and Generals also. *Potipherah*, Priest of *On*, seems to have been the same Person with that *Potiphar*, Captain of the Guards, in *Joseph's* Days; *Gen.* xxxvii. 36. and xli. 45. So that probably their Priests were capable of Military Dignities and other State Preferments, in those Ages. *Homer* tells us, in the *Grecian* Wars at *Troy*, there were several Priests who appeared in Arms in that Action. And *Pausanias* says, that those who presided over the *Sacra*, were among their most resolute and daring Generals, as well as most determined Patriots in the *Messenian* War. Now we are told, that all the chosen Chariots of *Pharaoh* attended on him in that decisive and disastrous Expedition. So that it is very probable that most of the wise Men, and those most eminent for Knowledge and Learning, attended the King, in one Capacity or another; as Counsellors or Military Officers, or to bless the Undertaking in the Name of their Gods.—Now, if their learned Men were most of them gone, then no Tradition of distant past Events could be preserved, since they were only retained in the Memories of those who were drowned. From which we may further conclude, that the Invasion of the *Pastors* must be an Event later than the Going of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

(3.) We must suppose that there would be a new Collection of Traditions, or a Recital of those Things which happened *after* this Disaster of the *Red Sea*. Such Events as happened afterwards or about that Time, those that saw them would be apt to record after the old Manner, *viz.* by often mentioning them and inculcating them, on the Memories of those that they had the Care of successively, for Instruction in *Egyptian* Learning or Antiquities.—The Plagues of *Egypt*, the Destruction of the King and his Army,

Army, &c. seem to be the most memorable Events which could be inserted in these new Records, or in these new verbal Traditions. But there was something so *shocking* in these Particulars, that Men could scarce *employ* themselves, or bear the *Employment* of constantly *repeating* these Stories of *Distress*. So that there is no Wonder that these should be pass'd over gradually in Forgetfulness; and in Time, be blotted out of their national Remembrance. But, when the Frights and Horrors of these Events were a little over, they might also be willing to hide their Nation's Disgrace, and so this may be another Cause of their Silence in their Histories, as to those Events.

(4.) This Event of the Invasion of the *Pastors* may therefore be considered, as one of the most ancient Transactions of which they had any Account in their Historical Traditions. And, if the Knowledge of Letters did not reach *Egypt* till about *Solomon's* Times, then their first *written* History must begin with them. For however scanty their Traditions were, yet they must begin with the most ancient Things, of which they had any traditional Memoirs among them. And if this was one of the oldest National Events of which they had any Hints in their Traditions, then upon their beginning to *write* their History, this Conquest of the *Pastors* from the *East*, their settling in the *Lower Egypt*, and causing the native *Egyptians* to retire up into the Country, before them, must have been a Capital Article of that History. This was a National Concern, and would therefore be apt to impress their Memories strongly, so that it might be in their Traditions. And besides, the Effects of it continued so long in the Midst of them, that they could scarce forget it. For the Invaders, when they had secured a Settlement, set up a King of their own, and reigned during six Successions of *Pastor* Kings, probably before they were attacked by the native *Egyptians*. And then this Transaction would be preserved still more recent and fresh in their Thoughts, by the last Wars, which the Kings of *Upper Egypt* commenced against the Nation of the Invaders; and which were carried on till they ended in the Expulsion of this Nation of *Shepherds*, and the whole Race of the *Pastor* Kings.

S E C T. III.

Proofs of the Pastors having been the Canaanites, who retired from Josiah's victorious Army.

EVERY Circumstance in the Condition of the two Nations, the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites*, as set down by *Moses*, so aptly corresponds with this Event related by *Manetho*, that they render this Account very probable of the Invasion and Conquest on the *one* Side, and the Retreat on the *other*. So that, I think, we may consider this *Egyptian* Tradition as a Confirmation

tion of the *Mosaic* Account of the State of *Egypt* and *Canaan* in that Age. Their Circumstances were each of them, at that Time, such as would lay a natural Foundation for such an Event; and, according to the respective Condition of each Nation in every principal Article, make the Event very probable and credible, as told by *Manetho*.

(1.) * *Manetho* says, that, in the Times of their King *Timaus*, the Gods being, upon an unknown Occasion, angry with the *Egyptian* Nation, there came suddenly a numerous Army of ignoble People from the *East of Egypt*, who invaded the Country, and meeting with but little Resistance, ravaged and over-run it; and having got the Governors of *Egypt* in their Power, they secured to themselves a good Settlement in the *Lower Egypt*, and as far the Region of *Memphis*. He represents this Invasion as attended and followed with great Cruelty, the Burning of Cities, the Destruction of Temples, and all the other Instances of Savage Barbarity; and they carried on these Wars in such a Manner, as if they had intended the utter Extirpation of the *Egyptian* Name and Nation. That they soon after elected a King among themselves, named *Salatis*, and extending their Dominion not only below, but above the Region of *Memphis*, they put strong Garrisons in all the most convenient Places. But they especially fortified themselves and the Country towards the *Eastern* Borders; which, as *Manetho* says, was on the Account of the *Affyrian* Power, of which they were apprehensive, which was then the greatest in *Asia*.—Now all this was very natural to expect from the State of the *Canaanites* at that Time. They were retreating from a formidable, victorious Enemy, who had given many Samples of his Power, in obtaining so many Victories, and of his Severity in the Use of them; as in the Treatment of the conquered Kingdoms of *Sibon* and *Og*; and then, in the Conquests on the *Western* Side of *Jordan*. These Wars were attended with such Rapidity in their Progress, and such unparalleled Success, as might very well intimidate, not only those Parts which were nearest, but those Regions of *Canaan* which were situate at the greatest Distance from the Conqueror.—And further, we know that the *Canaanites* had been informed of the Wonders of Divine Power manifested in Behalf of the *Hebrew* Nation so long ago, as their passing the *Red Sea*; and that the like heavenly and extraordinary Protection and Assistance accompanied them even to that Day, as in the Passing the *Jordan*, and taking *Jericho*.—That the *Canaanites* had heard of these ancient Appearances of God in their Behalf, is plain from *Rabab's* Report, *Josh. ii. 10, 11*. And that these Intelligences had such intimidating Effects upon the Minds of the Inhabitants, is clear from the the same Passage. And *Josh. v. 1*. *Their Hearts fainted for fear of them, there was no Spirit in them.*

Again; it is very reasonable to think that those Nations, perhaps more neighbouring to *Egypt*, but of the same Blood, or of the *Canaanitish* Tribes, might

* *Maneth. apud Joseph. contr. Appion. Lib. I.*

might feel these Terrors, tho' in the most distant Situation from *Jordan*. And entertaining perhaps several that had already escaped from the conquered Countries, and hearing the Reports of the Conquests so often repeated, might consult upon Methods of common Safety, while it was not yet too late ; and while that formidable Conqueror was yet at some Distance from them : It would be natural for *them* to think of some Country to retire to for a Settlement. It would be further natural to go away in a *great Body*, accompanied with their Wives and Children ; that by their *Numbers* they might most probably make good the Settlement ; and, having their Families with them, might have the Comforts of a *continued* People, united in the same Language and Customs, in their new Habitation, where-ever they should procure it.

(2.) When the *Canaanites* set themselves to think of it, *what Country* they must make an Attempt upon, in order to a Settlement, it would be natural, from the State and Condition of *Egypt*, to have Expectations of Success from that *Quarter*. The Land itself was large and rich, the *Hebrews* had lately removed from it, so that there must be Room enough for their Reception and Accommodation. They must have heard some Reports of the Plagues of *Egypt*, and those many wasting and weakening Judgments that had consumed and exhausted the Country, and that they had heard of the amazing Desolation at the *Red Sea*, is evident, *Josh. ii. 10.* And that these Wonders were generally known is plain, *Josh. v. 1. 1 Sam. iv. 8.*

Now this Knowledge of the weak State of *Egypt* would be like to encourage them to make an Attempt upon it, as not yet recovered from those exhausting Visitations, with which that Country had been lately smitten, and which must have impoverished them both in Men, Arms, and Officers.—Again ; as *Egypt* was weakened in real Strength, by these last-mentioned Losses, so it would be very much debilitated in its Spirits and Courage, as well as Military Skill ; so that it would not be like to make such a vigorous Resistance to the Invaders, or exert itself in such a spirited and concerted Defence, or make such masculine Efforts for repelling these new Forces. The native *Egyptians* would be, very probably, in a pusillanimous State of Mind, not well prepared for Military Undertakings : And, as they had been so signally defeated, by a Succession of extraordinary and visible Judgments, they would be apt to be struck with new Terrors, at the Approach of new Armies of Foreign Invaders.

(3.) *Manetho* calls these Invaders an Army of *Shepherds*, or of the *Pastor* Nation. But we are not to think that the Invaders called themselves *Pastors*. No Nation was, I think, originally a *Nation* of Shepherds. For all Men must originally have stood in Need of Corn and Fruits, as well as Cattle, Sheep or Cows. And, when the Earth was divided, and different Tribes came to chuse their Settlements, there could scarce be any Country into which they would come, and where they would settle, but it would have some

some Ground Arable, and fit for Tillage and Grain, as well as other Parts fit for Pasturage.

The *Hebrew* Nation were called *Shepherds*, for a particular Reason, in Providence; not that the Country where they resided was without the Conveniency of Arable Ground, or that they themselves had an Aversion to Agriculture; but that God gave them no Possessions of Land, in the Country where they sojourned: And so they were constrained to reside in the least cultivable Parts, for the Conveniency of their Flocks and Herds. This had been the Condition of the *Israelites* from the Beginning: *Jacob* accordingly, when he stood before *Pharaoh*, gave this Account of his Family, That himself and Ancestors had always followed the Occupation of Shepherds. And this became the Distinction of the *Hebrews* in *Egypt*, and they were called *Shepherds*, or the *Pastor* Nation, even when they were become a great and numerous People.

Now I should think that the *Egyptians* themselves, not knowing who the Invaders were, called them the *Shepherds*. And probably they took this invading Army to be a Part of the *Hebrews* returned; for the *Egyptians* knew not that they intended finally to leave the Country, when they went into the Wilderness to worship: They, therefore, called them the *Pastors*; and it is no Wonder, that they made no determined Opposition to them, having a Remembrance of their powerful God; and fearing that they were again visiting the *Egyptians*, under the irritating Remembrance of their former Oppressions. This further explains their retiring before the Invaders, and their representing the *Pastors*, as raging particularly, against their Gods and Temples with all the Violence of hostile Fury.

(4.) It is very natural to suppose that these new Invaders would not rectify the *Egyptians* Mistakes, if they had made any, by giving them a true Account of their own real Condition. They would scarce inform the native *Egyptians*, when they invaded them, that they themselves were the Remnants of a Nation then in Flight before their Enemies; and that they had no Country of their own, from which they could expect Recruits, nor Habitation to retreat to, unless they could expel *them* from *theirs*: That they were driven out of their native Land by their Fears of a more formidable Power; and that they only came as Fugitives for Shelter from the pursuing Fury of a more mighty People, and a resistless, conquering General, who never knew a Repulse. This Misapprehension of the *Egyptians* concerning the Invaders, would naturally augment their Terrors, and so would make the *Canaanites* Settlement in the *Lower Egypt* the more easy, when they knew not that they were Fugitives. And the *Egyptians* further Mistakes about them, while they feared them to be a Part of the *Hebrew Pastors* returned, would induce them to retreat back into their own Country, up the *Nile*, into the *Upper Egypt*, *Thebais*, or the Land of *Pathros*.

(5.) This timorous Retreat would give the Invaders sufficient Time and Leisure to settle and form themselves into one State: And for both Order and Strength, to chuse a King, under whom to fix a kind of Polity, for their greater Security and Peace at Home; or for leading out their Armies more orderly, for the Defence of their new Borders and Possessions. The *Canaanites*, who fled from the dreaded Arm of the victorious *Hebrew* General, were probably composed of little distinct States or Tribes, and not connected, otherwise than by these occasional Alliances, into which their common Fears united them. It would therefore be more needful, at this Time and in these Circumstances, to elect a King among themselves; to prevent any Emulations or Dissentions which might distract or weaken them in their new Settlement, as *Manetho* tells us they did.*

S E C T. IV.

The Time of the Pastors Expulsion, calculated by a Comparison of the Hebrew and Greek Genealogies.

AS to the Time of the *Pastors* Invasion; or when the *Egyptian* King *Timaus* lived, since there is so little Dependance on the Order of the Dynasties, or the Chronological Computations of *Manetho*, from which to gather any Account of their real Time of Coming; this must be left uncertain, as to any Helps to the Injury from *Manetho*. But, since there is such an obvious Agreement in the Condition of the two Nations according to *Moses*, for rendering such an Event probable, and of which there is no such Account in any other Age, either before or since; I think we may conclude with the Great *Newton* that this was the *Nation*, and this the *Time* when and by which *Egypt* was invaded, which *Manetho* calls the Invasion of the *Pastors*. This Invasion was then above 40 Years after the Egression of *Israel* from the *Egyptian* Bondage. For the *Hebrews* were 40 Years in the Wilderness. *Josuah's* Wars begun soon after *Moses's* Death, and his Conquest of *Canaan* lasted about six Years.—It may be supposed that those *Canaanites*, who retreated, might be concerting their Schemes and meditating this Flight, for some Time; and at last, as their Dangers and Fears increased, put it in Execution, perhaps in the fourth Year after *Moses's* Death.—These Tribes, which composed this Confederacy, might perhaps be the least Guilty at that Time, and have the least of that profligate and hardened Defiance of the Almighty; and the least Confidence in their false, national Gods: This would induce them to retreat, rather than contend with the favoured Armies of *Israel*; and so might entitle them to this Connivance of Providence, to allow them to use such Means, as would procure their escaping the decreed Excision,

* *Maneth. apud Joseph.*

fion, under the Sentence of which the whole Nation seemed to be; for the Iniquity of the *Amorites* was then full.

The *Pastors* had six successive Kings by Name, that reigned in *Egypt*, as *Manetbo* says; and that there were several others afterwards, which are not named, a Confusion that has frequently happened in a falling State; and that they were in the whole 511 Years in *Egypt*. However, it has been observed, that as the learned *Egyptian* High-Priest mentions nothing that can determine the Time of their Coming, so neither will the Time of their Stay, 511 Years, fall into an Agreement with the *Hebrew* Scriptures. For the *Israelites* entering into *Canaan*, which was nearly a contemporary Event, was but 480 Years before the Temple, 1 *Kings* vi. 1. and yet the *Pastors* were expelled *Egypt* long before *Solomon's* Time. But, indeed, the Accounts of Time among the *Pagan* Ancients, who had not the sacred Writings to direct them, are of all Things, the least to be regarded in all their Histories.—The Time of the Expulsion of the *Pastor* Nation out of *Egypt* may be computed to a tolerable Exactness in this Manner. They were expelled from the *Lower Egypt* by the Kings of *Thebais* or *Upper Egypt*, and one of those *Theban* Kings at last straitened them so, as to shut them up in *Abaris*, or *Pelufium*, a City near the Borders of *Egypt*. But at last, despairing of Success in the Siege, he came to Treaty with them, that they should, upon quitting *Egypt*, have Leave to retire where they pleased; but, tho' we have an History of Facts here laid down, yet we have no Chronology, by which to ascertain about what Time, in the Course of the *Egyptian* Story, this important Siege happened. But, by comparing the *Greek* Story with that of the *Hebrews*, we may come at some Light in this dark and otherwise inscrutable Affair. * *Diodorus* tells us that, in ancient Times, there was a great Plague in *Egypt*, which was ascribed to the Anger of their Gods, because there were such a Number of Strangers there, who used foreign Rites in Religion, so that the ancient National Worship was wholly neglected. The Natives therefore resolved to expel them all, that they might be freed from these Plagues. And, about that Time, many great Captains went from *Egypt* into *Greece*, with considerable Colonies. Among these was *Cadmus*; but, according to the *Greeks*, *Cadmus* came not directly from *Egypt*, but was sent by his Father from *Tyre*, to seek *Europa*, i. e. another Country, which several of the *Pastors*, who came from *Egypt* about the same Time with them, had found out and settled in. From this we may gather that *Agenor* the Father of *Cadmus*, when he fled from *Egypt*, had at first withdrawn with his Colony to *Tyre*, but not liking that Situation, he followed, or found *Europa*, or *Greece*. *Diodorus* says, in the same Fragment, that the greatest Part of those, who retired from *Egypt*, went into *Judæa*, under the Conduct of *Moses*, where they built *Jerusalem* and the Temple. So that the *Egyptians* thought this Expulsion was just before the Temple was built.—Again; according to the *Greek* Historians,

* *Diodor. Lib. XL. Fragm.*

several considerable Captains came from *Egypt* with great Colonies into *Greece*, such as *Inachus*, *Lelex*, *Pelasgus*, and *Cecrops*, *Abas*, &c. and all these settling in *Greece*, left Posterity there, lineally running parallel with *Eli*, *Samuel* and *Saul*, *David*, *Solomon* and *Rehoboam*, as the Governors of *Israel*. *Solomon* married *Pharaoh's* Daughter; therefore *Egypt* was one Monarchy at that Time; and it must have been some Time after, for *Egypt* could not have grown instantly so great, after the *Pastors* were gone.—Again; as to *Lelex*, *Inachus*, *Pelasgus*, *Cecrops*, *Abas*, &c. it seems very unlikely that so many great Men, with great Colonies, should leave *Egypt*, all of them so near the same Time; unless there had been some great Uneasiness in that Country, which affected them all alike, at that Season; such as had never happened either before or since. And what could that be but the Expulsion of the *Pastor* Nation? for we never hear of any great *Egyptian* Colonies coming into *Greece*, but these only. But, if there be any Argument allowed in these parallel Generations, then *Eli* being = *Lelex*, will prove that *Lelex* was in the Age of the Expulsion of the *Pastors*; and therefore one of them. It is true, he might be Old as well as *Eli*, who lived to an uncommon Age. *Lelex* and his Fellow-Planters might go with their Sons, who might be about = *Cecrops* = *Samuel*.

S E C T. V.

The Argument from the Practice of Human Sacrifices among the Canaanites and Pastors considered.

ANother Argument to prove that the *Canaanites* were the *Pastors*, and that the *Pastors* were the first famous *Planters* of *Greece*, may be taken from the peculiar religious Rites, which prevailed among each of them. The *Canaanites* offered human Sacrifices, making their own Children pass thro' the Fire to *Moloch*. The *Pastors* of *Egypt* used this detestable and horrid Superstition. For *Porphyry*, from *Manetho* tells us, “ That *Amosis*, who expelled the *Pastors*, abolished this execrable Custom, at *Heliopolis*, of sacrificing Men. They sacrificed three in a Day to *Juno*, “ but *Amosis* substituted waxen Images in their stead.” * And the *Planters* of *Greece* practised this inhuman Abomination, as appears from *Pausanias*; † for *Lycaon* poured Infant-Blood upon the Altar of *Jupiter Lycaeus*. But all the *Pastors*, that is all the *Planters* of *Greece*, had not this horrid Superstition; for *Cecrops* would offer nothing of the Animal Kind, or that had Life in it. So that it may be a Question, whether *Cecrops* was of the *Pastor* Race, he might be a disgusted *Egyptian*; who, for some Offence either given or taken, joined the *Pastors* in their Remove from *Egypt*, or followed them after they were settled, for he came from *Sais* in *Egypt*, first to *Cyprus*, as *Sir Isaac Newton* says, p. 167.

S E C T.

* *Porphyry. de Abst. Lib. II. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. IV. c. 16. † Pausan. Arcadic. c. 2.*

S E C T. VI.

An Enquiry into the Original of Circumcision in Egypt.

BUT it has been alledged, by some learned Men, that the *Pastors* were not *Caananites* originally, but *Arabians*. For as the native *Egyptians*, in *Herodotus's* Time, had the Practice of Circumcision among them; and, as the Original of that Rite was derived from a Divine Appointment to *Abraham*, so they conclude that this Rite must have come to the *Egyptians*, from some of the *Abrahamic* Family; and they think that the *Pastors*, being *Arabians*, and of the Posterity of *Ishmael*, they imparted it to the *Egyptians* while they had this Dominion among them.

But to this I reply, that they were always two distinct Nations, they did not live together, but one drove the other into a different Region; and the *Egyptians* had therefore no Correspondence with the invading *Pastors*. And, as a very great Aversion arose betwixt the two Nations, the *Egyptians* would scarce fall into any Imitation of the Customs of the *Pastors*; and further still, as the *Egyptians* insensibly grew upon them, and at last subdued them, it is very probable that they would have abolished all the Customs which might have been taken up from them, or imposed by them.

In Support of this Opinion several learned Men have further urged a Quotation from *St. Ambrose*,* that the *Egyptians* circumcised their Children in the 14th Year of their Age; which Practice looks like an Intimation that they derived it from *Ishmaelites*. But this Citation is certainly of dubious Authority, and to be met with in no other Author that I have heard of. On the contrary, *Herodotus* says that after the Manner of *Egyptians*, the *Chalcians* and *Ethiopians* περιτέμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδῶνα, *ab initio* STATIM *pudenda circumcidunt*. In this Translation [*statim*] being inserted, shews that this Translator understood that it was their Custom to circumcise *speedily*, and that the Historian meant by ἀπ' ἀρχῆς not of old, or for Time immemorial, but from the Beginning of their Life, or Infancy. For he says, in the same Chapter, that it was ἀρχαῖον *very ancient*, which would be a Tautology that he carefully avoids.

I shall now suggest what seems a natural Way of accounting for the Reception of this Rite by the native *Egyptians* from the *Israelites*; and also points to the Time of its being received, or adopted.—It seems most probable that this Rite was assumed or embraced by the native *Egyptians* after the *Exodus* of the *Hebrews* from the Country. The Miracles and Plagues of *Egypt* must be very fresh in the Memory of those Inhabitants that were left in the Land, after the Disaster of the *Red Sea*. Scarce any of those in adult

* *Ambr. de Abraham. Lib. II. c. II.*

adult Age, but had seen most of the Plagues with their own Eyes; there were scarce any but what had been Sufferers by the Death of the First-born, and had been awfully informed of the desperate, perverse and obstinate Pursuit into the Red Sea, or of the perishing of the King, and the chief Strength of Egypt there. They must have frequently heard of the Defiance of Jehovah the God of Israel, by their idolatrous Monarch and his impious Court. But then the most hardy and virulent Defiers of the God of Israel, as the King and the Priests, and the most blasphemous Idolaters, must all have been swept away, in the last fatal Catastrophe at the Red Sea. Now all these Things might conspire to put the Remnant in such a Panic, that they would, from a religious Motive, think of reconciling themselves to that awful and tremendous Deity, the God of Israel. And they would naturally think of falling into the Use of those religious Rites which they thought would please him; and especially those which his favoured People had particularly made use of, and been distinguished by.—But then, as they were still Polytheists and gross Idolaters, they would not assume this Rite as an Instance of their casting off their old Gods, and renouncing their established national Superstitions; but as the Notion of Intercommunity of Gods prevailed among them, as well as thro' all the other Nations of Paganism; so in this Act they aimed at obtaining the Favour of more Gods, not at lessening their Number. They aimed not at weakening themselves by losing any of their former Guardians, but at gaining an Interest in this GREAT GOD, whom they might think to be the greatest and most powerful God. This was the Notion of the Philistines, 1 Sam. iv. 7, 8. And such Fears seized all their Cities upon the Ark's coming among them, Chap. v. 7, 9, 10. and vi. 3, 5, 6.

Again; we are historically informed that this Rite had not been introduced among the Egyptians before the Egression of Israel from thence. For it had been always, till that Time, objected to the Hebrews as their Reproach, that they were circumcised, Josh. v. 9. But their espousing this religious Rite, (if it was done at this Time, and upon these Motives) may be accounted for naturally enough as the Effect of that Panic, into which all these Successions and Series of Judgments would be likely to throw them.—Further; their taking up a religious Ceremony from an hated and despised People, can hardly be accounted for otherwise, than in this View, that it was to appease that formidable Deity which had so awfully contended with them and their Gods. As to other Oblations to him they probably knew them not, nor whether he would be made propitious, by any Offerings which they made to their own Gods.

But, if this was the Time and Occasion of their espousing Circumcision, then this Rite among the Egyptians may be considered as a Memorial of the Reality of those terrible Judgments related by Moses, and which they had seen and felt. This is equivalent to a standing Tradition among themselves of the Truth of those tremendous Facts; tho' there be no Remnant of any such

such Tradition either in *Herodotus*, *Manetho*, or *Diodorus*. Their observing such a peculiar Rite, derived from the *Hebrews*, whom they did not esteem or love, but whom (on the contrary) they *despised*, must proceed from their being frightened and terrified into it by those Judgments; and their Continuance in the Practice is a lasting Evidence and Testimony that there had been those awful Facts which did so terrify and frighten them, and so may be a full Attestation to *Moses* out of the Mouth of *Herodotus* himself.

It may be further urged that, if this has been so old a Custom among the *Egyptians*, how comes it that there is no Hint of it among the *Pastors*, or whoever were those *Egyptians* who first planted *Greece*?—This may, I think, be easily accounted for, if the *Pastors* were the Planters of *Greece*. For they were two Nations, very different in their Religion and Customs. They did not live together, and had probably had no Intercourse or Intimacy, all the while the *Pastors* were in *Egypt*, for at the Invasion the *Egyptians* retired back in the Country, and kept separate; and, when they returned, it was for War, in which they subdued and expelled the whole *Pastor* Nation from their Land.

But a further Objection may be made to this; namely, that it is not likely that this Practice, which was only begun in a superstitious Fright, should become so fixed an Usage, as to be found an established Custom and national Practice in *Herodotus's* Days in *Egypt*, after so many Revolutions in the State, and so many Changes of Masters. On this it may be remarked, by Way of Reply, that any Practice, if once introduced under the Notion of its being Religious, is soon confirmed into a Custom; and this, whether there was any Reason for it at first or not. The Worship of Brute-Images had no sufficient Reason for it, when it begun; and, tho' it did not commence, as I think, till after *Joseph's* Death, yet it had grown into a confirmed, national Superstition before the Time of the Egression: And with further Depravations as to all the horned and bestial Gods of *Egypt*, it continued the reproachful Distinction of that Country, and the Jest and Ridicule of Foreign Poets and Wits, as long as Paganism stood.—And we are not without Instances of the like or parallel Practices, arising from small Beginnings, and some of them innocent Ones, which have grown up to such confirmed Customs of Superstition, that the politest and most learned Ages and Nations, ancient or modern, could not disengage themselves from, or did not, by meer Dint of Learning.

C H A P. XX.

On the History and Chronology of the ancient Empires of the Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians.

WE have not, according to our main Design, much Occasion to enlarge on this Subject. For, as the *Egyptian* Story has the most Difficulty in it, as to our Point of Chronology, so we have considered the Affairs of these Empires, as they coincide with those of the *Egyptians* in the former Chapters.

S E C T. I.

On the Assyrian Empire.

THE *Assyrian* Affairs, as well as those of the *Egyptians*, are mentioned in the *Hebrew* History, both in the Beginning of them, and towards their Close.—As to the Beginning of the *Assyrian* Kingdom, *Moses* tells us who was the Founder of it, namely *Nimrod*; he tells us his Descent, and what Age of the World he belonged to. He was the Grandson of *Ham*. But as he mentions no Successor in the Kingdom, there was probably none who succeeded to the whole Kingdom; but *Nimrod* might divide it into different Lots among his Sons. Indeed, the State of the World did not then admit of a great Empire, on many Accounts. The Paucity, or Thinness of People, the near Equality in Rank that must at that Time be known to belong to all Men, where only their paternal Relation must give a Precedency to Parents over their own Family or Tribe; or some personal Qualities must further occasion an allowed Precedency to some, by those who allowed it, as those, who had superior Wisdom, or Strength, or Industry, would be apt to be applied to, for Advice in Difficulties, or for Protection in Dangers, or for Supply in Wants and Necessity. Again; in that State of the World, in that Age, all Men must be employed in tilling the Ground; for there would not be many servile Hands to spare, and so none could be exempt from their Share in necessary Industry, about the vulgar Concerns of Life. Accordingly, we have no Accounts of great Kingdoms, great Wars, or pompous Courts, in that Age of the World, related by any authentic Author.

I own some Difficulty has been raised in the ancient Accounts of the *Assyrian* Affairs, by the bold Fictions of *Ctesias*, which led the World into very unnatural Opinions about the early State of the Children of Men, most unsynchronal

synchronal to the Course of Nature, and inconsistent with all Probability, and even Possibility, in that Age of Mankind. But, as I persuade myself I have, under the Conduct of great Writers, not ineffectually attempted to shake the Credit of *Ctesias*, as an *Historian*, or to shew his Want of Judgment as a *Fabulist* : * So I apprehend we have unanswerably demonstrated that there was no *Assyrian* Empire, according to the Scriptures ; or that could be consistent with the Scriptures, which had ever appeared in the World before the Days of *Pul*, or *Belus*, and his Successors. We find no Intimations in the sacred Volumes that the Empire of *Assyria* gave any Alarm or Disturbance to its neighbour States, till the Reign of *Pul*. And that, when it thus grew troublesome, the Empire of *Egypt* was the greatest Power to which every neighbouring State turned their Eyes, for an Alliance against this new Potentate. Tho' it doth indeed by the Event appear, that this was often a Dependence on the *ancient* Greatness of *Egypt*, rather than its *present* Power. Of what Descent this *Pul*, or *Belus* was, is not told us, or from whence he came : So that probably he was King of *Nineveh* ; which Kingdom had perhaps grown considerable by the Riches of its Situation, being upon the Banks of the *Tigris*, and the Kingdom had probably reformed by the Message of *Jonah*, *Jonah* iii. 5, 10. and become more virtuous, and more fit for great Undertakings, which they were by Providence designed for. But they had not yet extended their Dominions Westward, before that Reign of *Pul*.—In *David's* Time, I think *Hadadexer* was King of *Nineveh*, and he had begun to extend his Dominions thro' those fine Provinces about *Euphrates*, *2 Sam.* x. 16. for he was a Confederate with, and seems to have been a kind of Superior to *Ammon*. For, after the first Engagement, he sent for the *Syrians* beyond the River, and his own General to command the Confederates. But he met with so signal a Defeat from *David*, that all the Kings, who were Servants to *Hadadexer*, that is, the tributary States, submitted to the Conqueror, and paid him regular Tribute : And the *Syrians*, viz. *Hadadexer* and his Provinces feared to help the Children of *Ammon* any more, *2 Sam.* x. 19. After this Defeat, the Kings of *Nineveh*, or the *Syrians* beyond the River, seem not to have come Westward any more, for several Ages. For the Kingdom of *Damascus* was about that Time set up by one of the Captains that revolted from *Hadadexer*, and continued for many Successions of Princes of his Line, *1 Kings* xi. 23, 24. till that Kingdom was destroyed by *Pul's* Successor, *2 Kings* xvi. 9.—We hear no more of the King of *Nineveh* till *Jonah's* Time, who was a Prophet in the Time of *Jeroboam II.* King of *Israel*, *2 Kings* xiv. 25. This Prince reigned long and prosperously, *ver.* 28.

† Sir *John Marsham* remarks on this Period, that the *Egyptian* Empire now almost ceasing in *Asia*, and the *Assyrians* not yet moving against the shattered Power of that Empire, the fair Opportunity gave Spirit to the two

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* Vol. II. Chap. 9. † *Marsh. Can. Chron.* p. 467.

Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, to attempt the retrieving their Affairs, to something of their former Splendor. So that, in the Reigns of *Jeroboam* and *Uzziah*, the *Hebrew* Affairs seemed to be returning to their ancient State, 2 *Kings* xiv. 25, 26, 27, 28. and 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 2, 6, 7. But how short was its Continuance! For after the Death of *Jeroboam*, his House and Kingdom, from this elevated Prosperity, was even precipitated into total Ruin. For, in about ten or twelve Years, *Manahem* came to the Throne of *Samaria*, who was invaded by *Pul*, the first King of *Assyria* mentioned in Scripture, 2 *Kings* xv. 19. Now it must be noted that, as *Jeroboam* reigned long, no less than 41 Years, 2 *Kings* xiv. 23. it cannot be easily determined when *Jonah* was sent to *Nineveh*. But whenever it was, it must be in the Reign of *Jeroboam*, whose Contemporary he was; and who, probably, prophesying of those prosperous Events before they came, must be as old a Man as *Jeroboam*. He might go to *Nineveh* in the Beginning of the Reign of *Pul*, and his Words had a very good Effect both on the King and the People: So that they might be very much prepared, by that great Change in them, to be the signal Instruments of God's Providence for punishing the less reformed Nations, *Jonah* ii. 7, 8, 9, 10. And, indeed, we may generally observe, that most conquering Nations are at first eminent for their Virtues, before their great Success plunges them into Pride and Luxury, which are natural Means of debilitating them again, and effeminizing them. So that they become less fit for, as well as less worthy of Success. After this Monarch, most of the succeeding Kings of *Assyria* are mentioned expressly in Scripture, even to the Time of the Fall of the Empire.—But that it was not a very considerable State before *Pul*, we have further Testimony from the sacred Books, as the great * *Sir Isaac Newton* argues from the Prophet *Amos*. He prophesied in the Reign of *Jeroboam* II. and *Uzziah*, *Amos* i. 1. And, as *Sir Isaac* thinks, it was after *Jeroboam* had subdued the Kingdoms of *Damascus* and *Hamath*, that he reproveth *Israel* for being lifted up by these Conquests, *Amos* vi. 14, 15. *Ye, which rejoice in a Thing of nought, who say, Have we not taken to ourselves Horns, by our own Strength? But, behold, I will raise up against you a Nation, O House of Israel, and they shall afflict you from the going in of Hamath, unto the River of the Wilderness.* God here threatens to raise up a Nation against *Israel*, but what Nation he names not; that he conceals till the *Assyrians* should appear and discover it. In the other Prophecies of *Isaiab*, &c. written after the Monarchy grew up, it is openly named, on all Occasions; but in this of *Amos* not once, tho' the Captivity of *Syria* and *Israel* be the Subject of it.

This Empire, if it arose with the Reign of *Pul* or *Belus*, has all its Succession of Princes named in the sacred History of the *Hebrews*, till its Overthrow by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

* *Newton*. p. 271.

S E C T. II.

On the Median Empire joined with that of Babylon.

BUT we must observe that, before the Fall of this Empire, it underwent some Changes; which, tho' it seemed at first to weaken its Power, yet did not operate effectually till some Ages after. That the Kingdom of the *Medes* had been brought under the *Assyrian* Sovereignty, is plain from *2 Kings* xvii. 6. For, when *Samaria* was captivated, the *Israelites* were transplanted into the Cities of the *Medes*, by the Conqueror. How long they had been in Subjection to this Empire, is not declared by any Historian, Sacred or Profane. It might perhaps be brought into the State of a tributary Nation to the Kings of *Nineveh*, before *Pul*, or in the Beginning of his Reign; for it is not unlikely that those Princes, as they were discouraged from making Attempts Westward, by the Victories of *David*, might, after a while, turn their Arms towards the Northern and Eastern Parts, and so get this Kingdom or Country in their Power.—But, in Process of Time, concerning which we have no Grounds of Computation, the *Medes* revolted and set up a free State.* This they maintained for some Time, till finding the Inconveniences of Anarchy, and a Want of regular Government, they chose a King, and built him a Capital City, *Ecbatana*, for the Seat of his Kingdom.† This is commonly thought to have happened in the Reign of *Sennacherib*, after he fled from *Palestine*, in the Reign of *Hezekiah*, *2 Kings* xix. 35, 36, 37. The *Medes*, after this Revolution in their own State, maintained the Kingdom many Years, under a Succession of several Princes named by *Herodotus*; *Deioces*, *Pbraortes*, *Astyages*, *Cyaxares*, *Darius* and *Cyrus*. They had frequent Wars with the *Assyrians* with various Success, and at last with the *Lydians*, whom they conquered, and took *Cresus* Prisoner. The *Medes* at last came into a Confederacy with the *Babylonians*, who were become a distinct Empire, by the Revolt of *Nabopolassar*, General of the Forces of *Chyniladon* King of *Assyria*, in *Chaldea*.‡ “ || *Chyniladon* was
“ either then, or soon after, succeeded at *Nineveh*, by the last King of *Assyria*,
“ called *Sarac* by *Polybistor*. And at length *Nebuchadnezzar*, Son of
“ *Nabopolassar*, married *Amyite*, Daughter of *Astyages*, and Sister of *Cyaxares*;
“ by this Affinity, the two Families of the *Median* and *Babylonian* Emperors
“ being united, they conspired against the *Assyrians*. And *Nabopolassar* be-
“ ing grown old, and *Astyages* dead; their Sons, *Nebuchadnezzar* and
“ *Cyaxares*, led the Armies of the two Nations against *Nineveh*, slew
“ *Sarac*, destroyed the City, and shared the Empire of the *Assyrians*.

P p 2

“ This

* *Herod. Lib. I. c. 95.*

† *Ibid. Lib. I. c. 98, 99.*

‡ *Polybistor. Euseb. Chron. p. 46.*

|| *Newt. p. 290.*

" This Victory the *Jews* refer to the *Chaldeans*, the *Greeks* to the *Medes*,
 " *Tobit*, *Polybius*, and *Josephus* to both." *

A further Argument to ascertain the Fall of the *Assyrian* Empire, is suggested by Sir *Isaac*, thus: " In the Reign of *Josiah*, when *Zephaniah* prophesied, *Nineveh* and the Kingdom of *Assyria* were standing, and their Fall was predicted by that Prophet, *Zeph. ii. 13, 14, 15*. In the End of *Josiah's* Reign, *Pharaoh-Neco* went up against the King of *Assyria*, to the *Euphrates*, and in his Way thither slew *Josiah*, *2 Kings xxiii. 29*. and therefore the last King of *Assyria* was not yet slain. But, in the third and fourth Year of *Jeboiakim*, the Successor of *Josiah*, *Jer. xlv. 2*. The two Conquerors having taken *Nineveh*, and finished their War in *Assyria*, prosecuted their Conquests Westward; and, leading their Forces against the King of *Egypt*, beat him at *Carchemish*, and took from him whatever he had lately taken from *Assyria*. And therefore we cannot err above a Year or two, if we refer the Destruction of *Nineveh*, and the Fall of the *Assyrian* Empire to the second Year of *Jeboiakim*, *An. Nabonaf. 140*."

S E C T. III.

The Confederacy of the Medes and Babylonians, further considered and illustrated from Sacred History.

THAT was a very active Period of the World, which we have already considered, from the Decay of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, and the Rise of the *Assyrian*, (which were near contemporary Events) to that of the *Assyrian's* Fall.—The total Overthrow of the Empire of *Egypt* happened, indeed, later than the Dissolution of the *Assyrian* one, tho' it rose sooner. For, as it was better settled by Years, so it was of a better Situation for Stability, than the other: It stood, like one of its own Pyramids, on its Base proportioned to its Height; and was accordingly more difficult to overturn, or undermine. Its Situation was more convenient for Strength, being populous and plentiful within itself, and being as it were a great Island, or Peninsula, surrounded almost entirely by the Sea, or the unpassable Sands of *Africa*, which made it of difficult Access.

Whereas, the States that grew up to be the Conquerors of *Assyria*, were so near in Situation to that Monarchy, that of *Media* on the North, and that of *Chaldea* on the South; that they lay most opportunely for that Confederate War which ended in its Fall. For those two great and heroic Princes, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, uniting their Forces, speedily conquered the Monarchy, now in weak Hands; and destroying *Nineveh*, its Capital; they divided the Empire betwixt them; doubtless by Concert, according to the

Con-

* *Newton. p. 291.*

Convenience of Situation, to each of their own Empires: So that all, that lay *Northward*, fell to the *Medes*; and that, which was *Southward*, to the *Chaldeans*. But *Nineveh* was destroyed probably out of Resentment and the Hatred of the *Medes*,* and to make this Division more practicable; when neither of the Confederate Conquerors would have the Possession of that noble Imperial Seat to be Matter of Jealousy or Controversy betwixt them.

However, as most of the History of those Times is derived from the *Hebrew* Scriptures; and, as we may reasonably suppose, that That conquering People, which lay nearest *Judea*, (and that were chiefly employed by Providence in overturning the *Hebrew* Commonwealth, and destroying their City and Temple) should be most taken Notice of in that History; so we find it accordingly. The sacred Pages make much mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and particularize many of his great Actions, both historically and prophetically; but *Cyaxares* is scarcely named. And yet he was perhaps as great a Man, and as experienced a General as the other. We may therefore conclude that *He*, who had an *equal Share* in that *War*, would be like to be as *active* as the other, when it was over; for both the Conquerors were in their Youth, or Prime.—And indeed, tho' the sacred Historians are so silent concerning this Prince; yet *Herodotus*, speaking so much concerning him, intimates that he was a great Name among those *Northern* Nations in the *Upper Asia*. *Herodotus*, indeed, as *Sir Isaac Newton* has made out, by comparing him with *Æschylus*, and other Authors, has something inverted the Succession of the *Median* Princes; for he makes *Cyaxares* to be Son and Successor of *Phraortes*, and Father of *Astyages*; whereas the great *Newton*, who first remarked this Mistake, † makes *Astyages* to be the Son and Successor of *Phraortes*, and Father of *Cyaxares*, *Mandane*, and *Amyite* the Wife of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and that this last Affinity cemented that potent and formidable Confederacy, which was the Ruin of the *Assyrian* Empire. But, tho' *Herodotus* mistakes the Order of the Kings on the Throne of *Media*; yet he seems not to have been much wrong as to their Actions: And *Cyaxares* having probably been the chief Manager of Affairs under his Father *Astyages*, an unactive Prince; the Son was most talked of, and so had many of these great Actions ascribed to him, which were transacted in his Father's Reign, but under the Son's Conduct.

Besides, ‡ *Herodotus* says, that *Astyages* was the Father of *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus*; and *Amyite*, another Sister, was the Wife of *Nebuchadnezzar*; so that the Children of *Astyages* were about = *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was = *Cyaxares*, his Fellow-Conqueror of *Assyria*. And again, *Cyrus* the Son of *Mandane*, must be about contemporary with the Son of *Cyaxares*, who married *Ariene* the *Lydian* Princess, upon the Peace which was ratified: after the famous *Eclipse*, under the Mediation of *Nebuchadnezzar*, betwixt the:

* So that probably the *Medes* and *Cyaxares* might first stir, to foment this War.

† *Newton*. p. 308, 309. ‡ *Herod. Clia.* c. 107.

the *Lydians* and *Medes*. From both which Genealogical Synchronisms, it appears that *Astyages* the Father of *Mandane*, was the Father, not the Son of *Cyaxares*; and that he was the Grandfather of *Cyrus* and of *Darius* the *Mede*, who married *Ariene* after *An. Nabon.* 163. And that this *Darius*, who married *Ariene*, was the same Prince who afterwards took *Babylon*, will be gathered by the Agreement in Time. For, as this Marriage was, *A. N.* 163. and *Babylon* was taken, *A. N.* 210. 47 Years after; and *Darius* the *Mede* was 62, when he took it, *Dan.* v. 31. So he must have been 15 or 16 Years old when he married, and the Conqueror of *Babylon* could be no other Son of *Cyaxares*, but this *Darius*.*

Herodotus mentions several Events, which seem to suit the Genius and Heroism of this active, brave Prince *Cyaxares*, and which seem worthy to have employed him, after the Conquest of *Nineveh*. The *Scythians*, who under the Command of their King *Madyes* had invaded the *Upper Asia*,† and settled themselves for about 28 Years in a kind of Sovereignty there, being at last expelled by *Cyaxares*; a Body of them turning Supplicants, and making Peace with him, stayed in *Media*, and were employed by him in instructing the *Medes* in the Use of the Bow; being famous for their Skill in Archery and Hunting.‡ But upon a Time, happening to be disappointed in Hunting, and catching the King no Venison, he, in a Passion, treated them with opprobrious Language. This they resented as an high Indignity; and studying Revenge, they soon after killed one of the *Median* Youths, who were with them for Instruction in Archery, and dressing the Flesh like Venison, presented it for the King's Table. But, as they could not expect to escape his Vengeance for such an insolent Barbarity, when it should be discovered; they immediately fled to the King of *Lydia* for Sanctuary; and, he refusing to surrender them to *Cyaxares*, upon his demanding them, it brought on a War which lasted for five Years, with various Success, betwixt the *Medes* and *Lydians*. But, in the sixth Year of the War, when they had made great Preparations on both Sides to bring it to a decisive Issue; the Forces of both Nations being engaged, in the very Time of Action, each Army was so terrified by a sudden Darkness, occasioned by a total Eclipse of the Sun, that the Battle stood still; and they came to Terms with each other, and ratified a Peace, by the Marriage of *Ariene* the Daughter of *Alyattes* King of *Lydia*, to the Son of *Cyaxares*. This Treaty was carried on under the Mediation of *Labyntus* the *Babylonian*, i. e. *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the King of *Cilicia*, as Arbitrators betwixt the contending Nations. ||

This great Eclipse, which was predicted by *Tales* the *Milesian*, happened on *May* 28. *An. Nabon.* 163. as *Sir Isaac* states it.

According to *Herodotus*, the Kingdoms of *Media* and *Lybia* were contiguous, being only separated by the River *Haly*, § which rises in the Mountains

* *Vid. Newt.* c. 4. † *Herodot.* Lib. I. c. 103. ‡ *Ibid.* Lib. I. c. 73. || *Ibid.* Lib. I. c. 74. § *Herodot.* Lib. I. c. 72.

tains of *Armenia*, and running thro' *Cilicia* and *Phrygia*, turns Northward, and then runs (between the *Parthians*, who lie on the *West*, and *Cappadocians* on the *East-side* of it) into the *Euxine Sea*. Therefore *Cyaxares*, after the taking of *Nineveh*, had been employed in conquering *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and the adjacent Regions, on that Side of *Assyria*; while *Nebuchadnezzar* was enlarging his Empire, on the other Side: And during these different, contemporary Conquests, the two great Monarchs continued their Confederacy, without any Emulations or Jealousies.—This their continued Union will appear from the following Particulars. *Nineveh* was destroyed, *An. Nab.* 140; *Jerusalem* and the Temple were burnt, *A. N.* 160, about 20 Years after the Fall of *Nineveh*; and, about three Years after the *Jewish* Captivity, *A. N.* 163. the *Median* and *Lydian* War ended by this memorable Peace.—Now, as the Northern Parts of the *Assyrian* Empire, in the grand Division, fell to the Share of the *Medes*, as being nearest to their Country; so the more Southern Parts fell to the *Babylonians*, for the same Reason. This Division would not occasion, speedily, any Emulations. For the Scene of their great Actions would be sufficiently distinct and distant, while each of them were extending their Borders, in Provinces so remote from the other.—Of both these Cases we have the Testimony of History.

Thus, (1.) In the Northern Wars, which the *Median* Monarch undertook, *Cyaxares* was the Principal; and, tho' *Nebuchadnezzar* was an Ally and Auxiliary, yet he was no Party, for he was expressly named, as a Mediator, to negotiate this Peace.*

(2.) In the more Southern Provinces, where the *Chaldeans* were Principals, the *Medes* were only Allies and Auxiliaries, and not Parties. In the *Jewish* Wars with *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the Conquest of *Jerusalem*, the first Time, in the third Year of *Jeboiakim*, *Dan. i. 1.* *Nebuchadnezzar* came up against *Jerusalem*, and so far prevailed, that he got the King into his Hands, and Part of the Vessels of the House of the Lord; which he carried into the Land of *Shinar*, into the House of his God, *Dan. i. 2.* at which Time *Daniel* was taken Captive. This seems to be the same Event related, *2 Kings xxiv. 1.* at which Time *Jeboiakim* became his Servant, or Tributary, for three Years, viz. while the Army of the *Chaldeans* continued in *Syria*, and was carrying on its Conquests over the *Asiatic* Provinces belonging to *Egypt*. In the fourth Year of *Jeboiakim*, that is the next Year he was subdued, *Nebuchadnezzar* smote the Army of the *Egyptians* at *Carchemish*, near the *Euphrates*, *Jer. xlvi. 2.* But, after *Nebuchadnezzar* was gone to *Babylon*, upon his Father's Death, to settle the Kingdom there, *Jeboiakim* rebelled; and *Nebuchadnezzar* sent his Army, consisting of *Chaldeans*, *Moabites*, &c. who, having harrassed all the Country, at last besieged him in *Jerusalem*, and having taken the King, probably in some Sally, they slew him, and cast his dead Body without the Gates, unburied, as it was prophesied, *Jer. xxii. 19.* and

* *Herod. Lib. I. c. 74.*

and xxxvi. 30. This Revolt seems to have been encouraged by *Egypt*; for it is added, 2 *Kings* xxiv. 7. *And the King of Egypt came no more out of his Land, having been dispossessed of all that he had from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar.* Nebuchadnezzar himself, during the Continuance of the Siege, arrived at *Jerusalem*. And *Jeconiah*, who was now King, went out to the Conqueror, and surrendered the City. This was the second Captivity of the *Jews*, who were many of them carried to *Babylon* at this Time. Now the Prisoners and Spoils being all carried to *Babylon*, evidently shews that *Nebuchadnezzar* was considered as the Principal in this War; and the Reason seems to be this, which we have assigned, that this Conquest was one of the *Southern* Provinces of the *Assyrian* Empire, which consequently fell to the Share of the *Babylonian* Monarchy, by Contract.

If it be asked what Foundation have we in History to suppose this Contract about the Terms of the Division betwixt the Confederate Conquerors of *Assyria*? I answer; we have not any certain ones in the ancient Historians: But *common Sense* tells us, that, if they were Confederates of near equal Power, they must divide the Conquests the most *conveniently*; and that must be, by having each of their Territories the most contiguous that could be, to their several Original Kingdoms.—We have no where so exact Accounts of these great Events, the Ruin of the great Monarchies of *Assyria*, *Egypt*, or *Babylon*, or the great Capitals of *Nineveh*, *Jerusalem*, or *Babylon*, as in the sacred Volumes. Even so late in the World, as this Period of the Fall of the *Hebrew* State, *Pagan* Authors were so careless in recording, or their Records were so ill preserved, that we have very deficient Memoirs of those Ages, and they can do little for us, in furnishing any correct historic Knowledge, without the Help of the Scriptures.—But then, either by the direct *History* of the *Hebrew* sacred Books, or their *Prophecies* compared therewith, and an accurate Examination of *both*, a good History may be deduced. We shall find that none of their Prophecies were published *after* the Events came to pass, which were so predicted; and this may assist us in judging in a Chronological Way, of the Probability of the Times when any Events happened.—Thus, when one Event is *related* as past, at the same Time that another is *predicted*, we may know which was first in Order of Time. As, *Nabum* iii. 7, 8, 10. Tho' no History directly specifies the Time of either the Captivity of *Thebes*, or the Destruction of *Nineveh*; yet, by this Prophecy, it is clear that *Thebes*, or *No-Ammon*, was captivated and greatly oppressed, tho' not quite destroyed, before the Destruction of *Nineveh*.—Again; by comparing the *Jewish* Prophecies with their *History*, we have, I humbly conceive, a full Proof in Point, *namely*, that they were Confederates, and joined their Forces in the *Jewish* Wars; and yet, that the King of *Babylon* was the *Principal* therein. For, in the fourth of *Jeboiakim* King of *Judah*, which was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the Year next after the first Conquest of *Judea*, mentioned by *Daniel*, i. 1, 2. at which Time *Judea* was in Sub-

Subjection to *Babylon*: God, by the Mouth of *Jeremiab*, threatens the People of *Judah* and the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, *Jer.* xxv. 1, 9. that he would send and take the Families of the North, that is, the Armies of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, and bring them against them. Now *Nebuchadnezzar* is here expressly named for executing this Commission, and was therefore the *Principal* in this War; but *Cyaxares* is not so much as once mentioned: And yet, that he was an *Auxiliary*, is plain; because, according to this Prophecy, his Armies were to be employed in the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; even in that very War which ended in the 70 Years Captivity, *Jer.* xxv. 11.—Again; as the Peace betwixt the *Medes* and *Lydians* was made three Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, it follows, that the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and burning the Temple, must have been in the Beginning of the *Lydian* War. So that *Cyaxares*, tho' he could not be then present at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, yet so punctual were those two great Princes to their Alliances, that he spared his *Median* Troops to the Aid of his Confederate *Nebuchadnezzar*, tho' he had then a War upon his own Hand, in another Quarter. And this further explains it, why the *Lydian* War could be protracted so long, even because *Cyaxares* did not fall upon the *Lydians* with his full Power, while some of his choice Troops were employed in the Siege of *Jerusalem* along with *Nebuchadnezzar*.

About the same Time, the fourth Year of *Jeboiakim*, several Predictions were delivered against the neighbouring Nations, *Jer.* xxv. 15. to 26. In this Enumeration of the Nations, against which God prophetically denounced his Judgments, *Assyria* is not mentioned, as being fallen already; therefore it fell before the fourth of *Jeboiakim*. Then *Elam* and *Sbeshach* are mentioned, as distinct Countries from the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, and therefore they were not, in the fourth of *Jeboiakim*, conquered by either of them: For the Predictions were always before the Events came to pass: But several of these Prophecies seem to have pointed to very distant Events, long after the fourth of *Jeboiakim*. Thus the Fall of *Babylon* is pointed at, *Jer.* xxv. 12. which was to take place at the End of the 70 Years Captivity; and probably the Conquest of the *Medes* by *Cyrus* was referred to ver. 25. And finally, that of the *Persian* Empire, by *Alexander the Great*, ver. 26. for the King of *Sbeshach*, or *Susab*, should drink after them.

And the Prophecies against the *Gentiles*, which are set down without any Dates, *Jer.* Chapters xlv. xlvii. xlviii. xlix. seem to be the same Prophecies concerning the *Wine Cup* of God's Wrath, mentioned in a shorter Way, *Jer.* xxv. 15, &c. for several Allusions to the same Image, are made use of, in these separate Prophecies. As *Jer.* xlviii. 26. and xlix. 12.—Again; in the Prophecy concerning *Bonds and Yokes*, *Jer.* xxvii. God threatens that he will give into the Hands of the King of *Babylon*, the Kingdoms of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*. And this Message was to be sent to these Kings, by their several Ambassadors, which should come to *Jerusalem*,

to congratulate *Zedekiah*, on his Accession to the Throne, upon the Deposing and Captivity of *Jechoniah*, *Jer.* xxvii. 2, 3, 4. So that this Prophecy was in *Zedekiah's* Reign, and after the Captivity of *Jechoniah*. For the false Prophets declared the Return of *Jechoniah*, and the Vessels of the Temple in two Years, *Jer.* xxviii. 3.—Again, further; the Conquest of *Elam* is expressly prophesied of, as an Event yet to come, in the Beginning of *Zedekiah's* Reign, *Jer.* xlix. 34. And this was probably predicted at the same Time with the Prophecy of the *Wine Cup* of God's Wrath, in *Jehoiakim* the Fourth, and now repeated, as not being yet accomplished in the Beginning of *Zedekiah's* Reign.

From this we may gather that *Elam*, or the Kingdom of *Persia*, was a Free Nation, in the Beginning of *Zedekiah*, and therefore not conquered by *Pbraortes*, as *Herodotus* says.* —But, from comparing this Prophecy with the Words of *Ezekiel*, xxxii. it appears, that they, who were a Free Nation in the first of *Zedekiah*, were conquered before the eleventh of that King's Reign. † For, [*Ezek.* xxxii. 22, 24, &c.] the Prophet enumerates the Principal Nations, who had at that Time fallen before the Conquerors, *Albur*, *Elam*, *Mesbech*, *Tubal*, *Edom*, the Princes of the North, the *Sidonians*, &c. *Mesbech* and *Tubal* were, probably, the *Seythians*, whom *Cyaxares* conquered. The Princes of the North being among the conquered People, must probably mean those on the North of *Judea*, as the *Armenians*, *Cappadocians*, &c. who fell in the Wars raised by *Cyaxares*, in reducing these Countries, after the Destruction of *Nineveh*. *Elam* (or *Persia*) was taken by the *Medes*; and, as *Susbach* was probably the ancient Name for *Sbusban*, or *Susa*, the Palace, or the Imperial Seat of the *Persian* Empire, it might be the Capital City of the Region of *Elam*, and be conquered at the same Time with *Elam*, or *Persia*.—That *Elam*, or *Persia*, was conquered after the first of *Zedekiah's* Reign is plain, from *Jer.* xlix. 34. that it was properly conquered by the *MEDES*, will be clear from this, that the *Persian* Nation and their General *Cyrus*, were under the Dominion of the *Medes*, in those Wars in which the *Medes* conquered the *Lydians*, under *Craesus*, and took *Sardis*. *Cyrus* was also one of *Darius's* Generals, in that War in which *Babylon* itself was taken. He was therefore a *Median*, not a *Babylonian* General, in that War, in which the *Babylonian* Empire was broken, and *Darius* the *Mede* took Possession of the *Chaldean* Monarchy as a Conqueror, not as elected by the *Babylonians*, *Dan.* v. 31.

Now, since *Elam*, or *Persia*, was conquered by the *Medes*, and accordingly was under their Dominion, till the Fall of the *Babylonian* Empire, as is proved above; and since, as to the Time of its being conquered, it was after the ninth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Jer.* xlix. 34. and before the nineteenth of the same Prince, *Ezek.* xxxii. 24. We cannot err much, says the penetrating

* *Herod.* Lib. I. c. 102.

† *Vid.* *Newton.* p. 318, 319.

penetrating Sir Isaac Newton, if we place these Conquests in the twelfth or fourteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*.*

Cyaxares might be at Leisure to undertake this *Persian* War, upon the Expulsion of the *Scythians* out of *Asia*: And, I think, he might be induced to it by the ominous Dreams, which *Astyages* was disturbed with, on the Birth of his Daughter *Mandane*; the Interpretation of which Dream so affected him, that, when she arrived to marriageable Years, it occasioned their marrying † her to *Cambyfes*, a *Persian* Nobleman; as a less ambitious Alliance than one of the *Median* Nobility. ‡

Then another Dream, which the King had upon the Pregnancy of *Mandane*, gave *Cyaxares*, and perhaps his *Median* Nobility, new Alarms. This occasioned the unnatural Determination of the King to destroy the Infant *Cyrus*, by exposing him on the Mountains, the most feracious of wild Beasts, where he might perish, with the least Suspicion given to the Princess his Mother; as *Herodotus* largely relates it. || — But, as there are two Accounts of the Infancy and Education of *Cyrus*, namely, this of *Herodotus*, that he was exposed on the Mountains of *Media*, in order to his being destroyed by the wild Beasts, and that he was wondrously preserved by the Compassion, or Ambition, of the King's Herdsman. The other that of *Xenophon*, that he was brought up with his Father *Cambyfes* in *Persia*. § Yet both these Accounts agree, that he was not brought up at the *Median* Court. One says, he was educated in the Obscurity and Meanness of the pastoral Life, as the Herdsman's Son; the other, that he was brought up in the Parsimony and Simplicity of *Persian* Manners; either of which Accounts would occasion his being much taken Notice of, when he was first brought to the *Median* Court.**

If he was about this Time discovered to be the Son of *Mandane*, according to *Herodotus*, so extraordinary a Preservation of *Cyrus*, accompanied with the oracular Dreams with which *Astyages* had been before disturbed, might kindle a Jealousy in the *Medes* against the *Persian* Nation, tho' it was a much meaner one than themselves. — Or, if *Xenophon's* Account of *Cyrus's* Education in *Persia* be thought more credible, he might then begin to shew the promising Tokens of an extraordinary Genius, and being the Heir of their King *Cambyfes*, and of such high Birth by his Mother, a Princess of the *Median* Royal Family, the *Persians* might unseasonably boast of this extraordinary young Prince, which might further inflame the Suspicions and Jealousies

* *Newton*, p. 319. † *Astyages* was now dead, and *Cyaxares*, her Brother, was King of *Media*, at the Time of her Marriage. ‡ *Herodot.* Lib. I. cap. 107, 108. || *Herodot.* Lib. I. cap. 109, 110, 111. This is more credible, as the King was not her Father, but her Brother; and had, at least, one Son of his own, namely, *Darius*; and another Sister, married to *Nebuchadnezzar* his Confederate. § *Xenoph.* *Cyropaidia*, Lib. I. ** Tho' I think the ominous Dream was enough to awake the *Medes* Jealousies of the *Persians*, tho' *Cyrus* had not given any such early Hopes of being an extraordinary Genius. Again; he might have been sooner discovered to be *Mandane's* Son, than *Herodotus* supposes.

Ionies of the *Medes*, and stimulate them to undertake this War, in order to crush the ambitious Hopes of the *Persians* in their Bud. — The Time of *Cyrus's* Birth will suit with all this. For, if he was about the Age of *Darius*, whom the Scriptures say to have been 62 Years old at the taking of *Babylon*, which was, *A. Nab.* 210. Then he must have been born, *A. Nab.* 148. For $210 - 62 = 148$. *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus*, might have been 18, or 20, when she had *Cyrus*, and so herself be born, *A. N.* 128, or 130. about ten Years before the Conquest of *Nineveh*, in the Reign of *Assyages*. He had the first Dream concerning her, viz. that she made Water so copiously as to overflow the City, and all *Asia*; which portentous Dream occasioned her being disposed of in Marriage (as we have said) to *Cambyses* the *Persian*, as a more obscure Match than one of the *Median* Nobility. On her Pregnancy, the King had another Dream, namely, that a Vine grew out of the Womb of *Mandane*, which overshadowed all *Asia*. This being interpreted to portend, that her Child should reign over all *Asia*, might alarm *Cyaxares* himself, who was then on the Throne, and his *Babylonian* Confederate also; this might naturally enough determine him to resolve on the weakening of *Persia*.

Farther still; *Nebuchadnezzar's* Wars against the *Jews* being near over, some Years before, by the Captivity of *Jehoniab*, by which Event the Nation of the *Jews* was become tributary to *Nebuchadnezzar*, about the ninth Year of his Reign; he could more easily spare Part of his victorious Army to join his faithful Confederate *Cyaxares*, in this new War, which he undertook against *Persia*. And *Nebuchadnezzar* might invade *Susiana*, or the Territory of *Susa*, which lay South-East of *Babylon*, whilst *Cyaxares* poured upon *Persia*, all his *Median* Forces from the North; so that the main Parts of *Persia*, or *Elam*, became a *Median* Territory; tho' *Susban*, its Capital, seems to have belonged to the *Chaldean* Monarchy, *Dan.* viii. 1, 2.

To proceed in the History of those Times, which may be gathered from the Prophecies;—we may fix the Times of the ensuing Victories, which compleated the Greatness of the *Chaldean* Monarchy, by the Dates, and other Circumstances of the Prophecies of *Ezekiel*, mentioned *Ezek.* xx. 1. They were delivered to the Prophet in the seventh Year of *Jehoniab's* Captivity = seventh Year of *Zedekiah's* Reign = fifteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; from which it appears, that the total Destruction of *Jerusalem* had not happened in the fifteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign. But it appears historically, that this Desolation was compleated in the eleventh of *Zedekiah* = nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *2 Kings* xxv. 2, 8. And then it may be gathered, from the Words of the Prophecies, that the Conquest of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, and the *Philistines*, must have happened after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. For these prophetic Threatenings were denounced against these Nations, on Account of their insolent and spiteful Rejoicings over *Jerusalem*, in its Desolations, *Ezek.* xxv. 3, 6, 7. Say unto the *Ammonites*, faith

said the Lord, *Because thou saidst, Aha, against my Sanctuary, when it was profaned; and against the House of Judah, when they went into Captivity;—Behold, therefore, I will make Rabbah a Stable for Camels, and the Ammonites a Couching-Place for Flocks;—and will deliver thee for a Spoil to the Heathens, and I will cut thee off from the People; and I will cause thee to perish out of the Countries.*—Then follow the Prophecies against Moab and Edom, Verses 8; 12. those against the Philistines, Verses 15, 16. [*Vid. Loc.*]—Sir Isaac Newton calculates, from these Prophecies, that those Nations were conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, in the 20th and 21st Years of his Reign, next after the Destruction of Jerusalem.

The next Year he begun the Siege of Tyre, Ezek. xxvi. 1, 2. for this Siege was prophesied of in the 11th Year of Jeconiah's Captivity (for the Dates in Ezekiel are according to the Years of that Captivity) and one of the Reasons assigned for this prophetic Severity against Tyre, was their triumphing over Jerusalem, when it was laid waste.—Now, as Ammon, Moab, Edom and the Philistines were conquered after the full Conquest of Judaea, it is very probable that they would be attacked the next, as being most adjacent to this new Conquest, before he proceeded to more distant Victories: Great Generals are not wont to leave unconquered Countries in the Way, and push forward beyond them, to more distant Conquests.—Again; these Kingdoms must require some considerable Time to conquer and settle into Provinces. Again; Tyre was at a great Distance from Babylon, so that the attacking that Kingdom could not be much sooner, after the Destruction of Jerusalem, than we here fix it with Sir Isaac Newton, after a Siege of 13 Years,* as Josephus tells us from the Tyrian Records, he took it, and entirely destroyed that famous Mart, the greatest then in the World, Ezek. xxvi. 2, 3, 4, 5. He then invaded and conquered Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya: And, that this Invasion was after the finishing of the Siege of Tyre, is manifest, from the Words of the Prophet, Ezek. xxix. 19, 20. Probably, during all this Series of Victories, Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares were still in Alliance; for Tyre was taken in the 35th Year of Nebuchadnezzar's Reign, and so Cyaxares might be still alive. And it is expressly said, that Nebuchadnezzar was to come against Tyre from the North, with Horses, Chariots, &c. Ezek. xxvi. 7. and that many Nations should come against her, ver. 3. Again; it is said, that he had no Wages for his Army, Ezek. xxix. 18. So that perhaps, in that more Northern Part of these Conquests, Cyaxares might take the Spoils by Contract betwixt them: Tho' I own, that the great Length of the Siege might have exhausted the Wealth of even Tyre itself; and so account for it another Way, that there were no Wages for his Army. †

However,

* Joseph. contr. Apion. Lib. I. Sect. 21.

† Tho' some give this Account of it, that, during so long a Siege, before it came to Extremity, the Inhabitants removed their best Effects to an Island in the Sea, and built a new City there; so that when the old City could be held no longer, no Spoils were found therein. Prideaux. Connect. Vol. I. p. 91.

However, it is I think capable of Demonstration, that these two great Princes were about that Time in strict Alliance; for *Jerusalem* was taken, and the City and Temple burnt, in the 19th of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign, 2 Kings xiv. 8. which was, *A. Nab.* 160. The *Medes* sexennial War with the *Lydians* ended three Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *An. Nab.* 163. occasioned by the Terror infused into both Armies, by the total Eclipse of the Sun, which then happened. In the terminating of this long War, *Nebuchadnezzar* was a Mediator, and the Peace was ratified by the Marriage of *Ariene* + *Darius*, the Son of *Cyaxares*, that *Darius*, who was afterwards the Conqueror of *Babylon*. This Peace was three Years after the taking of *Jerusalem*; and therefore in the 22d Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; in which Year the Siege of *Tyre* was either projected, or actually undertaken. And he and *Cyaxares* might probably at that Time concert the Siege of this great and opulent City.

Immediately after the Conquest of *Tyre*, *Nebuchadnezzar* turned his Thoughts towards *Egypt*, as we have observed; and made great Progress in his Victories thro' most of the known Parts of *Africa*, *Ezek.* xxx. 4, 5, 6. extending his Conquests thro' *Egypt*, *Aethiopia* and *Lybia*; and, as some say, to the Pillars of *Hercules*. However, this last must have been done by his Generals. 'Tis not fixed, either in Scripture, or any other History, how long he was employed in these Conquests, but it was a very compleat Dominion which he obtained over *Egypt*, *Jer.* xliii. 12. *He shall array himself with the Land of Egypt, as a Shepherd putteth on his Garment; and he shall go forth from thence in Peace.*—*Pharaoh-Hopbra*, King of *Egypt*, had indeed, many Years before, provoked *Nebuchadnezzar*, by drawing *Judea* and the neighbouring States into Confederacy against him. And, when he was besieging *Jerusalem*, and *Zedekiah* in it, *Hopbra's* Army marched out of *Egypt* to assist his Confederates and raise the Siege, *Jer.* xxxvii. 5. On Intelligence of which, *Nebuchadnezzar* withdrew from the Siege to oppose them in the Field. But the *Egyptian* Army, not daring to stand the Battle, retired on the Approach of the *Chaldean* Forces; and *Nebuchadnezzar* returning to the Siege, he took and destroyed the City, and finished the Conquest of *Judea* in its utter Desolation afterwards, even next after, he attacked the neighbouring States of *Moab*, *Ammon*, &c. which had been seduced into this Confederacy by *Hopbra* King of *Egypt*. He then attacked *Tyre*, where *Itobal* their King made a long and vigorous, and most obstinate Defence, as *Josephus* tells us, for 13 Years.—When this tedious Siege was finished, the insatiable Conqueror made this next Onset on *Egypt* and its *African* Allies, not being content with so large a Share of one Continent: Ambition, Avarice and Resentment, which are all insatiable Passions, goaded him on to these new Attempts.—It however appears, that there still remained such a Strength in *Egypt*, either from its native Numbers, Wealth, or Situation, that it was never invaded, but when the Invaders were arrived at their greatest

greatest Strength; or itself was weakened by intestine Commotions. But, at this Time, both these Circumstances fortunately conspired to favour *Nebuchadnezzar's* Attempt. For the *Egyptians* having lost a great Battle against the *Cyrenians*, in which a great Part of the native *Egyptians*, which were in the Action, were cut off; the rest perversely explained it to be a Design of *Hophra*, or *Apries*, to have them cut off, that he might more easily tyrannize over the rest of the Kingdom. Upon which many revolted from him,* as *Herodotus* relates. But it is worthy of Remark, that *Herodotus*, who had his Informations from the Priests of *Egypt*, tho' he speaks of some National Disasters about the End of *Apries's* Reign, and a Revolt which occasioned a *Plebeian* being set upon the Throne instead of *Hophra*, or *Apries*; yet he ascribes all these Changes to the *Egyptians* themselves, but is entirely silent about this *Chaldean* Conquest, or Captivity. † — But the *Hebrew* Prophets, who were not only inspired, but contemporary Writers, are very punctual and explicit concerning this whole Affair; — when it begun, *Ezek. xxix. 19.* namely, that it was soon after the taking of *Tyre*; that it was about the Time of *Pharaoh-Hophra's* Death, *Jer. xlv. 30.* which Event *Herodotus* himself relates. — Then again; *Amasis* being only of *Plebeian* Descent, who was set over the Kingdom about this Time, ‡ it seems the most likely that he was made Deputy over *Egypt* by the Conqueror; after he had ravaged the whole Land, and beaten *Hophra*, and probably slain him. For the Prophet *Jeremiah* was himself carried to *Egypt*, along with the Remnant of the *Jews*, who retired to that Country, *Jer. xliii. 5, 6, 7.* And he prophesied against *Egypt*, of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Conquests there, *Jer. xliii. 10, 11.* The Prophet *Ezekiel* also speaks fully to the Point, of the universal Desolation of *Egypt*, about this Time, *Ezek. xxix. 10.* God declares thus; *I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waste, from the Tower of Syene even to the Border of Ethiopia.* The learned Dean *Prideaux* rectifies our Translation thus, *from Migdal to Syene.* For *Migdal*, which is translated *Tower*, is the Name of the City *Magdolum*, situate at the Entrance of *Egypt*, on the Borders of *Palestine*; || and the Extent of these Victories is therefore intelligible, when it is described from *Magdolum*, on the Borders of *Palestine*, to *Syene* on the Borders of *Ethiopia*; that is, from one End of the Country to the other. And that this is the true Sense of the same Words, *Ezek. xxx. 6. from the Tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the Sword*, is necessarily to be allowed, since this expresses no Compass, or Extent of the Desolation; but from *Magdolum* at one End of *Egypt*, to *Syene* at the other, intelligibly expresses a large Extent of it.

Now, as there was a Revolt of the *Egyptians* from *Hophra* about this Time, according to § *Herodotus* and ** *Diodorus*, which was headed by *Amasis*, whom *Herodotus* calls a *Plebeian*; but *Diodorus*, an *Egyptian Nobleman*.

* *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 162.* † *Ibid. Lib. II. c. 169.* ‡ *Ibid. Lib. II. c. 172.* | *Prid. Connect. Vol. I. p. 93.* § *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 161, 162.* ** *Diodor. Lib. I. c. 5.*

man. So it is probable that *Nebuchadnezzar*, hearing of these Distractions in *Egypt*, at the same Time when he had finished his *Tyrian* Victory, marched directly into *Egypt*, and over-ran the whole Country; and loading himself with the copious Spoils of this opulent Monarchy, he returned to *Babylon*, after he had settled his own Dominion over it, in the Hands of *Amasis* the *Plebeian*. This Deputy reigned long, and ended his Reign with the 40 Years Captivity of *Egypt*, mentioned by the Prophet, *Ezek. xxix. 12, 13.* After which, *Egypt* should be gathered together, and continue a base Kingdom, *Verfes 14, 15.*

After this Conquest of *Egypt*, there is but one remarkable Event of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign mentioned by the sacred Historians, *namely*, his Dream of the great Tree, and the Time and Consequences of it; which is distinctly set down, *Dan. iv. 4, &c.* This prophetic Dream was when this great King was in *Babylon*; for he was near *Daniel*, to whom he speedily applied for the Interpretation. It must have been after the *Egyptian* Expedition; for *he was then at rest in his House, and flourishing in his Palace, Dan. iv. 4.* This extraordinary Dream, according to *Daniel's* Interpretation, was accomplished twelve Months after, *Dan. iv. 29.* His Distraction, according as it was predicted to himself, by this prophetic Dream, was of seven Years Continuance; and, after his Understanding was restored to him, and he was re-established in his Kingdom, as it is plain he was, *ver. 36.* he lived but one Year more; for he died near the End of the 37 Years Captivity of *Jechoniah*, who was taken Captive in the eighth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign, *2 Kings xxiv. 12.* He must therefore be returned from his *Egyptian* Expedition, (which was the last War in which he was engaged) in the 36th Year of his Reign; from which we may gather that he might be near two Years in his Conquest of *Egypt*, and $36 + 9 = 45$ Years, which is called the full Number of the Years he reigned, from his being joined in the Kingdom with his Father, to the Day of his Death.

Oh how humbling and debasing a View of the slippery and precarious Standing of human Pride, have we here presented to our Survey! This great Prince was one of the greatest who had ever ruled in the *East*, whose Name had been the Terror of so many Nations, whose Arms had overturned the two greatest Empires that had ever been erected in the World before, *namely* the *Assyrian* and *Egyptian*; and yet we behold him reduced from all his kingly Dignity, into a brutal Distraction, unconscious of all his magnificent Works and mighty Power; and, in humbling reverse, debased beneath the Converse of his meanest Slaves, become a Companion of Beasts, not Men; ranging with the common Herds, perhaps within the grand Enclosures of the Walls of that *Babylon*, which himself had raised on the Ruins of *Nineveh*, *Jerusalem*, *Tyre*, and all the Glory of *Egypt*; without a Shelter from Midnight Storms, or the Summer's Heat, in the midst of his magnificent Palaces; without human Garments, Food or Bed, in Exchange for the Imperial Robes,

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the Delicacies of his Regal Table, and Magnificence of his Royal Apartments, meaner than any of his Captives in their Chains, or those conquered Monarchs whom he had before laid in the Dust, *Iſa.* xiv. 16, 17, 18. And yet, after this dismal and total Eclipse of his Glory, he again emerges from this calamitous Cloud, and at last ſets in Brightneſs. The Luſtre of Penitence and Piety ſeem more to adorn his laſt Year of Life, than all his preceding Victories did his former triumphant Reign.

S E C T. IV.

On the History of the Chaldean Monarchy after Nebuchadnezzar, to its being conquered by Darius.

Evilmerodach, the *Iſvarodamus* of *Ptolemy's* Canon, ſucceeded him in the Empire. He immediately, on his Acceſſion to the Throne, releaſed *Jechoniab* from his long Imprisonment, and treated him with great Civility and Reſpect, *2 Kings* xxv. 27.—*St. Jerome* informs us, from an old Tradition among the *Jews*, that *Evilmerodach*, having the Government of the Empire during his Father's Diſtraction, adminiſtered it ſo ill, that, upon his Father's Recovery of his Senſes, and returning to the Empire, he put him in Priſon for his Male-adminiſtration; and happening to be imprifoned in that Place where *Jechoniab* had been ſo long confined, he there entered into a particular Friendſhip with him, which laid the Foundation of that ſingular good Treatment of him, when he came to the Throne.*

Evilmerodach was a vicious Prince, and growing, by the Exorbitancy of his Conduct, intolerable to his own People, they conſpired againſt him, and ſlew him. And *Nerigliffar*, or *Nergalaffer*, who had married a Daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and was at the Head of the Conſpiracy, came to the Empire after *Evilmerodach's* Death. As we hear no more of *Jechoniab* after this, and he is ſaid to have been ſo reſpectfully treated at *Babylon* to the Day of his Death; he either died about that Time, or was ſlain, as a Favourite, when *Merodach* fell. †

When *Nerigliffar* came to the Empire, we ſoon meet with Intimations of a War commencing between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*. So that probably the Confederacy betwixt *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, laſted as long as either of them lived. And the firſt Hints of theſe Wars are ſaid to be after the Death of *Aſtyages*; who, as *Xenophon* ſays, was ſucceeded by *Cyaxares*. But this, whom he calls *Cyaxares*, muſt certainly have been the *Darius* of *Daniel*; and the *Aſtyages* King of the *Medes*, who at this Time died, muſt have been no other than *Cyaxares* the Confederate of *Nebuchadnezzar* in the Conqueſt of *Aſſyria*. About this Time, the King of *Babylon*, whom *Xenophon* calls the

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* *Hieron. Comment. in Iſa.* xiv. 19.† *Prid. Connect.* Vol. I. p. 108.

King of the *Assyrians*, laboured to excite a War against the *Medes*, representing them as too powerful to be safe for the rest of *Asia*.^{*} This could not be *Nebuchadnezzar*, but one of his Successors; and not *Evilmerodach*, but *Neriglissar*. For the former was killed in a Conspiracy at Home, but the latter in the Field. And the last *Chaldean* Emperor before *Darius*, was slain in *Babylon*, Dan. v. 31. who was the *Belshazzar* of the Scriptures.

After both Parties had been for three Years together making their Alliances, and other Preparations for this War, it came at last to a fierce Engagement, in which *Neriglissar* himself was killed.† *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*, being in Dignity next to *Neriglissar*, took upon him the Command of the vanquished Army, and made as good a Retreat as he could. But *Cyrus* the *Median* General pursuing them, the next Day after the Defeat overtook them, and taking them at a Disadvantage, put them to a total Rout.—*Neriglissar* was a brave Prince, and was a great Loss to the *Babylonians*; and the greater, as his Son and Successor *Labosoardach* proved so insufficient for the Throne. He was a young Prince of such profligate Manners, and gave such early Instances of exorbitant Cruelty and arbitrary Tyranny, that his own People conspired against him, and slew him; after he had reigned nine Months.‡ *Berosus* indeed says, that *Labosoardach* was but a Child when he reigned. || But then it may be queried, how he could give such Proofs of his bad Dispositions as to provoke a Conspiracy against the Son of so beloved a King? So that I should think he was come to Man's Estate, and was guilty of those enormous, royal Villainies, as against *Gobrias* and *Gonatas*, which awaked the Indignation of the *Assyrians* against him. And the Murder of *Gobrias*'s only Son at a Hunting Match, (which happened in his Father's Reign) out of Envy at the superior Skill, or Success of the noble Youth, proves him to be near Manhood then, as that Story is most tenderly told to *Cyrus* by *Gobrias* himself, § in which are also interwoven very pathetic Encomiums on the deceased King. Now this could not be *Evilmerodach*; for his Character is very flagitious among all the ancient Historians who mention him. And therefore it must mean no other but *Neriglissar*, and that *Labosoardach* was the Son of that great but unfortunate Prince, who fell in the first great Battle betwixt the *Babylonians* and *Medes*. But his Reign is not mentioned in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, according to a Rule observed in the drawing up that Canon, which always counted from the Month *Tboth* in every Reign. And this young Prince coming to the Throne, after the last *Tboth* of his Father's Reign, and being slain before the Return of that Month, his Reign of nine Months was not inserted in the Canon.

He was succeeded in the Empire by the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, called *Nabonadius* in the Canon, *Labynetus* in *Herodotus*, *Nabonnedus* by *Berosus*, and *Naboandel* by *Josephus*. He reigned 17 Years. And of whatever Descent this

^{*} *Xenoph. Cyroped. Lib. I. p. 22. Edit. Par. Fol.* † *Ibid. Lib. IV. p. 88.* ‡ *Beros. apud Joseph. con. App. Lib. I. Sect. 20. Megasth. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. X. c. 11.* || *Joseph. cont. Ap. Lib. I. Sect. 21.* § *Xenoph. Cyroped. Lib. IV. p. 112, 113.*

this King was, it is plain that he was the last King of *Babylon* that reigned before the *Medes* and *Persians* took that Kingdom, *Dan. v. 30, 31*. He was very probably the Son of *Nebuchadnezzar* himself. For he is often called his Father, *Dan. v.* And then again, it appears that, in the fifth Year of *Jechoniah's* Captivity, he was born, and next in Dignity to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and expected by the Captives to be his Successor, *Baruch i. 2, 11, 12*. So that he was either the elder Son, or *Evilmerodach* even then was in Disgrace. But it being said that the Nations should serve *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his Son and Son's Son, *Jer. xxvii. 7*. therefore *Nebuchadnezzar* is by our Translators, in the Margin, called the Grandfather of *Belsazzar*, *Dan. v.* But, as *Belsazzar* was the third in Succession from this great Prince, which is the Order in which a Son's Son would be like to reign, and as his Reign was what might be a cotemporary one to the Grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, beginning but nine Months after, there can be no great Difficulty in the Terms of the Prophecy concerning the Time of the Government of *Nebuchadnezzar's* House; for it was three Successions in the Empire, as a Grandson's Reign would naturally be expected to be; and the Empire was in the Hands of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Posterity, till the Conquest of the *Medes* and *Persians*.

In this Reign the Wars betwixt the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were continued, which were begun in *Neriglissar's* Reign; and, tho' the *Babylonians* are said by *Xenophon* to have made great Alliances, as with the *Lydians*, *Cilicians*, and many other States, against this great and growing Empire of the *Medes*, yet *Darius* being himself an active Prince, and his General *Cyrus* the greatest Man in that Age, and the *Chaldeans* having a Succession of weak and effeminate Princes, they and their Allies were at last all subdued. About 18 or 20 Years after *Nebuchadnezzar's* Death, *Darius* conquered the Kingdom of *Sardis*: And about five or six Years after, he conquered the Empire of *Babylon*;* and thereby finished the Work of propagating the *Median* Empire over all *Asia*, as *Æschylus* represents.

Now this was that very *Darius*, who coined a large Quantity of pure Gold, into those famous Pieces of Gold, called *Daries*, or *Stateres Dariei*. The *Medes* seem to have been a People regardless of Wealth, *Isa. xiii. 17*. So also *Herodotus* represents them,† as Strangers to Luxury and Pomp. But the *Lydians* were immensely rich. And *Darius* made use of all their Spoils of this Kind in coining it into these *Daries*. So that, as *Sir Isaac* argues, he reigned from before the taking of *Sardis*, till after the Conquest of *Babylon*. Since such a vast Quantity of Gold, and Silver too, bore his Regal Stamp and Name.

After the Conquest of the *Chaldeans* by *Darius*, and that of the *Medes* by *Cyrus*, the Empire of *Asia* was transferred to the *Persians*. And, after this Reign, the *Europeans* began to be acquainted with the *East*, by a more frequent Correspondence with the *Persians*. The *Median* Conquests of *Cræsus* brought the *Medes* into the *Lesser Asia*; all the Maritime Coast of *Phœnicia*

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* *Newton. p. 319.*† *Herod. Lib. I. c. 71.*

from Tyre to Egypt, had been conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*; then both the *Chaldean* and *Median* Empires being united under the *Perfians*; it constituted the greatest Empire that, till that Time, had been in the World. But there being no great Difficulties in Chronology, after the Days of *Cyrus*, I am not led by the Scheme of this Essay, (tho' Learning greatly increased about this Age, and *Pagan* Histories began) to enter into this historical Examination. I am sensible it has been better done by other Modern Writers, who have particularly set themselves to collect the Histories of ancient Times: Whereas my Aim has chiefly been to endeavour to rectify the Errors, and clear the Difficulties of Chronology; and hereby to compute their gradual Progress in the Knowledge of Religion and Arts, Policies and Arms, thro' the earlier Ages. By all these Enquiries into ancient Chronology, I hope it may be rectified to a good Degree of Certainty, so as to determine in what Age of the World the principal Events happened; when the great Empires rose and fell, and by what prevailing Means, and thro' what National Manners those memorable Revolutions were brought about.

C H A P. XXI.

On the Progress of the ancient Pagan World in Arts, Policy, and the Knowledge of Religion, till the Coming of Christ.

BY a well-adjusted Chronology, may be gathered the Progress not only of Arms, but Politicks; and that of Arts and Sciences, thro' the different Ages and Countries of the World. And what was esteemed Politeness, Civility and Improvement, in the several progressive Ages, may also be from hence deduced.

S E C T. I.

On the ancient Cities that perished about the Time of erecting the Persian Empire, and before it; from which may be gathered the State of Arts in those Ages.

IT may be useful, in Subserviency to our main Design, to subjoin some Observations on the ancient Cities and great Capitals of the oldest Empires, which were destroyed, during this Period. If they were so considerable for their Improvements, either in Magnitude and Extent, or in Elegancy or Grandeur of their Ornaments, at the Time of their Fall; those very Cities were, themselves, Histories of past Arts to that Time. And, tho' we may not exactly know when they were first built, or with what grand or elegant

gant Ornaments they were at first embellished; yet, by the Accounts and Descriptions of them at the Times of their Desolation, we may conclude that, before their Ruins, Arts were arrived to a considerable Perfection in those Countries; for otherwise the Cities, themselves, could not have been finished in such High Taste, in Point of Magnitude or Grandeur.—The first and most famous Cities among the Ancients, were in *Egypt*; and they seem to have had, by their Civil Constitution, a singular Advantage for their Improvement in all the most elegant Arts. For Trades and Arts were hereditary; and descended from Father to Son in the same Family. The People were divided into different Tribes, which seem to have been distinguished by their different hereditary Occupations.* There was among them a Race of *Scholars*, who had Portions of Land allotted them; who applied themselves only to Study, to mind the *Sacra*, and to instruct the People in all that they called useful Knowledge; and to assist in the Government, as the great Ministers of State, viz. *the Priests*.—There was also a Race of *Soldiers*, who had also Portions of Land allotted to them, that they and all their Children might apply themselves to Military Affairs, and so become expert in the Art of War, and ready on all Occasions to attend the Royal Standards, or any National, Military Service.—*Shepherds, Husbandmen and Artificers*, were also, each of them, a distinct Tribe or Order in the Commonwealth, obliged to apply themselves each to the Occupation of his Family. Hereby all mechanic Arts must be carried to a great Perfection; each Artificer being conversant with nothing but their own several Trades from their very Childhood. They had not Lands, but took it of the King, Priests and Soldiers, to manage it in Tillage or Pasturage. It is therefore no Wonder that Architects and Statuaries both abounding in Skill and Numbers, should be the Produce of such a Regulation, in *Egypt*, and be ready at Hand, when they had Wealth enough to induce them to great Undertakings. Accordingly, when *Sesostris* had, by his successful Arms for nine Years, erected the first great Monarchy, and afterwards applied himself to great Civil Regulations in the Empire; he, in the Possession of such immense Wealth as he had acquired in those extensive Conquests, soon distinguished *Egypt* by the Embellishment of grand Works, Palaces, Temples and Cities. THEBES in *Egypt* was, probably, the first greatest City in the World; and was famous for its Grandeur and Wealth, above any City named in History. Its numerous and warlike People issued to the Wars thro' an hundred Gates, as *Homer*, the most ancient *Pagan* Writer hints.† And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that there was no City in the World so highly adorned with such a Multitude of stately Monuments of Gold and Silver, and Ivory, *Colossus's*, and magnificent *Obe-lisks*, cut, each out of one entire Stone. There were in this grand City, four Temples; the most ancient of which was near two Miles in Circuit; its Walls were 45 Cubits high, and 24 Foot thick, embellished with Expence and

* *Herodot. Lib. II. c. 164. Diodor. Sic. Lib. I. c. 6.*

† *Hom. Iliad. Lib. IX.*

and Workmanship suitable to its Magnitude. This Fabric stood till *Diodorus's* Time, tho' the Ornaments of Gold, Silver, Ivory and precious Stones, were carried away by the *Persians*, when *Cambyfes* burnt so many of the *Egyptian* Temples.* There must therefore have been very able Architects and Statuaries, even at that Time, in *Egypt*. This wondrous City must have been doubtless very strong and magnificent, since its Ruins at this Day are extremely grand and spacious, as *Dr. Pocock* tells us.†

The *Egyptian Thebes*, which was called by the sacred Writers *No-Ammon*, was immense in its Wealth and Grandeur, the Strength of Situation and Multitude of Inhabitants, as described by the Prophet, *Nabum* iii. 8. *Nabum* intimates that *Nineveh* itself was not more famous than this ancient City of *Thebes*. *Art Thou better than populous No*; and yet it had been, before the pronouncing of this Prophecy against *Nineveh*, miserably wasted, and its Princes captivated.

This War, in which *No-Ammon*, or *Thebes*, was so greatly distressed, after it had been so long flourishing in all its Grandeur, was in the Reign of *Afferbaddon*, King of *Assyria*, when he conquered *Egypt*: And it seems to be mentioned as a late Event, which must be well remembered by the *Assyrians*, who had captivated it. The great *Newton* states the Time of *Nabum's* prophesying, thus: "*Nabum* wrote after the last Invasion of *Judaea* by the *Assyrians*, chap. i. 15. † *Behold, upon the Mountains, the Feet of him that bringeth good Tidings*; O *Judah*, keep thy solemn Feasts, perform thy Vows; for "*the Wicked shall no more pass thro' thee, he is utterly cut off*," namely, the *Assyrian* Power, which they had chiefly feared was to be cut off, by the Fall of *Nineveh*.—Now, if *Thebes* was so grand and strong at that Time, we may justly conclude that it had been so long before; and therefore, that all the Arts relative to this kind of Improvement, such as Architecture, Statuary, Carving, and perhaps Painting, must have been growing long before, and had greatly prevailed in *Egypt*. However, *Thebes* was not, at this Time, which the Prophet *Nabum* refers to, wholly destroyed, tho' greatly oppressed.

Assyria was the next great Empire, that rose on the Decays of the *Egyptian* Power; and *NINEVEH*, its Capital, was the eldest great City that is mentioned in History, to have totally perished by conquering Armies. That it was a very ancient City is evident; for it is said to have been built in the Days of *Nimrod*, *Gen. x. 11*. That it was much celebrated for the Multitude of its Citizens, and the Extent of its Dimensions, is plain, *Jonah* iii. 3. and iv. 11. And it is said, by Profane Writers, || to have been of an oblong Figure, of 480 Furlongs in Circumference, or 60 Miles. And hence, probably, it was called a City of three Days Journey in *Jonah*, as twenty Miles is as much as a Man can well travel in a Day. § And *Strabo* represents it as much bigger than *Babylon*.** But, as the Age, when its Improvements began, cannot be calculated

* *Diodor. Lib. I. c. 4.* † *Pocock. Observ. on Egypt.* ‡ *Newt. Chron. p. 258.* || *Diod. Lib. II. ab Init.* § *Prid. Connect. Vol. I. p. 48.* ** *Strabo. Lib. XVI. p. 737.*

calculated exactly, we can only prove that it was Great when it fell; and therefore that the mechanic Arts were grown considerable in *Assyria*, not only at the Overthrow of that Empire, but even long before. For it was a City of three Days Journey about, when *Jonah* prophesied, who was Contemporary with *Jeroboam* II. King of *Israel*, and *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, about the Time of the Beginning of the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*; but it was not destroyed till the 140th Year of that *Æra*.

The next great City, which was destroyed in the same Age, was *JERUSALEM*. This was, I apprehend, the very Original and Birth-place of the greatest Improvements of the Human Mind, in the most refined Knowledge. And, as the Mind dilated in Knowledge, so it proportionably advanced in the finest and most polite Arts: That it actually did so at that Time, is clear from the sacred History; for that there had been none in *Jerusalem* before him, like *Solomon*, we are often told. And we have no Accounts of any considerable Progress in Arts or Knowledge, before that Age, in any other Country. But then, indeed, as the Use of *Letters* became more general, so the Communicating and Circulation of Knowledge both in Arts and Theories became more easy.

The World was then removed farther from its State of Infancy, and proportionably nearer to Maturity, and arrived at greater Perfection in the Use of its Faculties; according to the Sentiments of the learned Mr. Archdeacon *Law*, which he has so beautifully stated, in his late excellent Performance.* Tho' I cannot but be humbly of Opinion, that Mankind was early capable of receiving an useful Theory of Religion; at least in that Method in which God gave them Informations on that Subject, namely, by very plain Instructions, in direct Propositions relating thereto; however slow they might have been in finding it out of themselves, in that State of comparative Infancy of their Reason.

But we hear not of any great Progress in Arts at *Jerusalem* after the Days of *Solomon*, till the Destruction of the City, Temple, and State by the *Chaldeans*.

SARDIS was the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Lydia*; and, as that was a Kingdom eminently rich, it was probably finished in high Taste, both by the Improvements which had prevailed in *Asia Minor*, and which might be further augmented by Correspondence with *Egypt* and *Greece*. But, as we have not sufficient Memoirs of the Grandeur, or Embellishments of that City, we can make little Addition to our History of Arts, and their Progress, from hence.

BABYLON was the last great City whose Magnificence was arrived at its Perfection, in this Age we are treating of. As to the Original of Arts in this City, tho' Building for Strength and Conveniency was certainly found out early, since this City was begun before the Dispersion: Yet, if we may judge from

* *Mr. Law's Considerations on the State of the World, as to Theory Religion.*

from the Materials, it could not be extremely elegant, tho' it might be strong. For they had only *Bricks for Stone, and Slime for Mortar*, Gen. xi. 3. Here they *built a City, and a lofty Tower*; and, after the Dispersion, this *Babylon* was the Beginning of *Nimrod's Kingdom*, Gen. x. 10. It was however, probably, growing gradually thro' every Age, and the Goodness of its Situation, and the Richness of its Soil, on the Borders of the *Euphrates*, would both occasion the Continuance and Augmentation of Inhabitants.

But then *Babylon*, in the Perfection of its Grandeur, was but a new City; for doubtless, there was some Propriety in *Nebuchadnezzar's* Remark; *Is not this great Babylon, which I have built, for the House of the Kingdom; by the Might of my Power, and for the Honour of my Majesty?* Dan. iv. 30. * *Semiramis* is said by some, and † *Belus* by others, to have founded this City. But, as we have better Information by *Moses*, we know that it was founded in the primitive Ages. But then it was *Nebuchadnezzar*, who finished it in the grand Manner, in which *Herodote* describes it; who himself was at *Babylon*, and is the eldest Profane Author who mentions it.

The finishing this City was chiefly the Work of this great Prince, though many Parts of it were done before. When *Nebuchadnezzar* had destroyed *Nineveh*, he affected to exceed that Capital, which he and his Allies had laid in Ruins, by this rival Successor to its Glory.

However, *Nebuchadnezzar's* Death is no good Date, from which to calculate the Perfection of Arts. For he had all the great Patterns of Antiquity after which to copy. He had seen *Nineveh* and *Jerusalem* in all their Beauty and Extent: He had surveyed *Thebes*, *Memphis*, *Heliopolis*, with all their Temples, Pyramids, Obelisks, Colossus's, and the other Wonders of *Egypt* in their ancient Greatness; and he could command all the greatest Masters from all the conquered Countries; and perhaps he might equal, or even exceed, the Patterns.

Babylon, as finished by him, was justly called one of the Wonders of the World. It was every way prodigious, in its Dimensions, Beauty, and Strength. It was in Dimensions an exact Square of fifteen Miles on every Side, and sixty Miles Circumference. For Strength, it was encompassed by a Wall of 200 Cubits high, and 50 Cubits broad; with a vast Ditch out of which the Earth was dugged up, of which the Brick of the Walls was made. It had, for both Beauty and Strength, on each Side of this vast Square, 25 Gates, being 100 in all; all made of solid Brass or Copper. † From the 25 Gates, on each Side of the Square, were drawn Streets in right Lines, to the opposite Gates; in all 50 Streets, each 15 Miles long. || To fill this great City with Inhabitants, *Nebuchadnezzar* carried such a Multitude of Captives from all the conquered Provinces, as may be imagined. It was also exquisitely adorned and beautified, as *Herodote* says. The *Euphrates* ran through the Middle of it, Southward.

* *Herod. Lib. I. c. 184. Diod. Sic. Lib. II.* † *Abyden. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. IX.*

‡ *Herod. Lib. I. c. 178.* || *Ibid. c. 179.*

Southward. On the East-side was the old Palace and the Temple of *Belus*; and on the West, the new City which *Nebuchadnezzar* added. But the Walls round the whole were his Ordering and Work.

However, tho' *Babylon* might itself be as famous a City as any among the Ancients; yet it may be justly questioned whether *Chaldæa* was the Birth-place of Arts, tho' they might have here their highest Finishing. We are told, *Isa. xxiii. 13. that the Chaldeans were not a regular People, till the Assyrians founded the City for those who wandered in the Wilderness.* * *Sir Isaac Newton* understands this of *Pul* and *Nabonassar*, who built up *Babylon*, as a Capital for one Branch of his Family to reside at. And, as this was about the Time when *Sabaco* invaded *Egypt*, and drove many *Egyptians* out of their Country, who retired thro' *Arabia* and the Desarts into *Shinar*, or *Chaldæa*; so they carried their Astronomy, the Form of their Year, which they preserved in the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, and several other Arts and Sciences, into that Country; which then began to flourish in *Chaldæa*, tho' really transplanted, or imported from *Egypt*.

I cannot meet with Materials in the narrow Compass of my private Study, and so remote from public Libraries, that will enable me to carry the Chronology of ancient Arts farther than I have done. But thus far we may proceed with tolerable Evidence. For we have the History of great Cities, which having been great at such a Time, prove that those Arts were in being, which were employed in their Embellishment, with such a lavish Profusion of Treasure, and the Labour of such numberless Multitudes. Tho' indeed, considering the vast Multitudes that were employed, as particularly in building *Solomon's* Temple and Palaces, one would suspect that Art was but then in its Infancy, and Instruments for Expedition were much wanted; as *Dr. Sykes* hints.

Architecture and Statuary seem to have been carried farthest in those Ages, of any of the Arts. But, as the *East* abounded with People, and the *Eastern* Monarchy extended a despotic Dominion over so vast a Compass of Territory, they must have had an immense Treasure, and a numberless Multitude of Subjects at their Command. Accordingly, all their Works seem to have been in the vast and grand Taste, rather than in the correct and elegant one. Their Cities were like cultivated Countries; their Palaces like Cities; their Columns were Obelisks; and their Statues were Colossus's. All was in this gigantic Gou't; and a Nation's Revenue was wasted, and its People's Strength exhausted, in the Prince's Palace, or his Tomb; witness the *Memnonium*, or the Pyramids of *Egypt*; the Palaces, Pensile Gardens, and Walls of *Babylon*. How vainly doth foolish Man, contrary to the true Order of Nature, build and erect Mountains in the midst of Plains, which have their greater Beauty without them! How unwisely do they nourish Warts and indecent Protuberances on Nature's lovely Face, which are Deformities rather than Ornaments!

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But,

* *Newton. Chron. p. 326.*

But, ever after these enormous Monuments of Antiquity, there begun to prevail a Mixture of the Grandeur of the *East*, with the Delicacy and Correctness of the *West*. However, the Foundations of these latter were scarcely laid, till the other were many of them sinking under their own unweildy Weight. *Alexander* built *Alexandria*; the *Tyrians*, *Carthage*; the *Italians*, *Rome* itself, still growing up in new Elegancies of the more correct Kind, after most of the Patterns of ancient Greatness were wasted by hostile Armies, or by Time, the most sure Destroyer.

S E C T. II.

On the gradual Alteration in Policy and War, naturally introduced by the Increase of Arts and Sciences.

NOT only *Arts*, but *Arms*, and the *Policies* of States, seem to have undergone material Alterations in a similar Manner.

The Politics of the most ancient Kingdoms were probably at the Beginning of their Establishment, gentle and mild in the Administration of Government. As Society was first formed among near *Relations*, it would require no great Improvement of Genius, to apprehend a near *Equality* among those who were descended from the same *Ancestor*; and that therefore such a Gentleness should be thought natural; a sort of natural Instinct inspired these Sentiments. But when, in the Revolution of some Ages, great *Empires* were raised by *Conquest*, and the Remembrance of Kindred was entirely lost, the *Conquerors* treated them all as *Slaves*; and both the *Country* and *People* as the Purchase of their Sword; ravaging the one, and destroying the other at their Pleasure, in unnatural Defiance to the most genuine Sentiments of Humanity. Thus an undisciplined and savage Ambition urged and goaded on the *Great Men* of the World to the pernicious Love of War and *Conquest*: And again, the Love of *Plunder* and Ravage, (when once a Nation was grown great by *Conquest*) joined to the Commands of an imperious Conqueror, impelled the common World to Arms; and led them by Thousands, to follow the Standards of those victorious Tyrants to the Works of Destruction, against which the human Heart naturally recoils.—But here it may be again observed, that Mankind had made so small a Progress in the useful Arts of domestic Industry, that the common People had little better to employ themselves in; or little Security for their Persons, or Families, or Properties, at Home; and therefore more readily engaged in War: It was the best Thing they could then do for themselves, in that State of Improvement, which the World had then attained to.

It seems to have been a Want of this Improvement in the laborious Arts, in which the People could usefully employ, and comfortably maintain themselves

themselves at Home, which occasioned the ancient Armies of the first Empires to be so very numerous; as those of *Assyria*, *Babylon*, *Persia*, and perhaps *Egypt* itself. For *Rameffes*, the third Monarch of the *Egyptian* Empire, had 700,000 Men stately in Arms, according to the Testimony of Inscriptions on ancient Obelisks; as we have said.—The World being spoiled by these ancient *Examples*; and obstructed in its *Growth* in the Arts of Peace, by employing such *Multitudes* in Arms;—Hereby there was a Succession of Conquerors, or *Universal* Monarchs; (a Race of Beings hardly Human.) And even when, according to the Chronology of the World, and of Arts and Sciences, it should not, methinks, have been entirely agreeable to the natural Manners of the Age, in which these new Empires rose.—Thus *Alexander*, in a more polite Age, than when *Sesostris*, *Pul*, or *Nebuchadnezzar* set up universal Monarchies, erected the *Macedonian* Empire. For *Alexander*, being a *Greek*, in which Region, the Notions of Civil Liberty had greatly prevailed; it was by a very unnatural Ambition in him, that he led the *Greeks* to a Taste wholly unnatural to them, even to aspire after universal Monarchy. The small Numbers of People in the Original Kingdom, made it unnatural in them to expect it; that They, who were but Thousands, should tyrannize over Millions, in a Military Way. And accordingly, this Empire properly ceased with himself. For, tho' all the different Branches of the *Greek* Empire were established under Monarchs of *Greek* Descent, yet they were independent Kingdoms, settled in those populous Countries, which had been severally united under the *Persian* Empire before, except *Greece* itself; and after *Alexander's* Death, *Macedonia* held no proper Dominion over the rest; nor were they called *Rebellions* against the Empire. But, as *Alexander* conquered *Darius*, who had so many Nations under his Dominion; so, by that Conquest, they all fell under the Dominion of the Conqueror; according to the Customs of the *East*, which had prevailed so long in *Asia*. And this Custom had begun, and was the Effect of more barbarous and less cultivated Ages; and accordingly, among them, at that Time, more natural than it could be in *Greece*.

The same absurd Taste afterwards prevailed among the *Romans*, and seduced them into a Scheme of the highest Self-Inconsistency. Those, who were the most strenuous Advocates for *Liberty*, became Patrons for universal *Tyranny*, in their own Hands. For, as *Alexander*, a *Greek*, by successful War, fell into the Possession of universal Empire, by conquering those Nations who were fond of that sort of Dominion; and were made fond of it, by having such Numbers of their Subjects employed, rather in Arms than Arts:—So the *Romans*, those fierce Patrons of *Liberty*, who would contend so obstinately in the Senate, or in a popular Assembly, against any Man's having a Grain of Power more than was due to him, by their national Stipulations; yet, even those stubborn *Republicans* would lead their Armies, in order to enslave whole Nations to their own *Roman* Yoke; over whom they had not the

least Pretensions to any Sort of Dominion; and who were not inclined to it, nor had any such Temptations to incline them to it. So that this unnatural and gigantic Taste still prevailed, even in their Politicks; similar to that which appeared in their Architecture, and Statuary, and their other Arts. Thus an Hall was reckoned noble and magnificent, tho' it was of such Magnitude, that the Royal Guests could scarce hear one another speak. A *Colossus* was a Beauty, tho' with a Nose a Cubit long, and Legs like the Pillars of a Temple; a Royal Tomb was a Pyramid of ten Acres Base, to accommodate a Body of six Foot in Length; their general Taste was enormously absurd in those less polished Ages. 'Tis true indeed, endless Beauties and Miracles of the accurate Arts were diffused thro' all *Greece*, in their little elegant Republics, where private Industry employed many Hands, where a rich Public encouraged the Emulation of the Artisans, to soften the Lines of the Statuary's Chisel, or the Painter's Pencil, into breathing Figures of imitated Life. — Yet again, in the Empires of *Greece* and *Rome*, the Gigantic, Colossean Gout was revived in their Notions of Government and enlarged Dominion, tho' they no longer admired it in any thing else.

But now, in our modern Times, when States or Cities have not rose by *Conquest*, which is the most ignoble Rise; but by *Trade*, Commerce, and *Civil Industry*, and *Sagacity*, and the *Refinements* of the useful Arts; as we have few Kingdoms erected by *Conquest*, so we have had fewer, that is, *smaller* Armies sent into the Field on that brutal Errand of mutual Destruction. And this must be a Proof of our being more *civilized*, in all that can be truly denominated civilizing, where far greater Numbers can get their Living by the Arts of Peace, in Proportion to what are called to the rugged Business of War.

It may indeed be pretended that a conquering Nation may be civilized by the Conquered, by transfusing their Arts, Sciences and Manners; as *Rome* was by *Greece*; and the Northern Nations of *Europe* by *Rome*. But, as there is no civilizing any People, in general, by Slavery, or bringing them naturally to nourish their own Arts, by tyrannical Commands; so there is no likelihood of an haughty Master learning of his Slave: They always lose more than they get by Slavery: And, again, they naturally become more rugged by Tyranny; they lose that ingenuous, free Spirit and unrestrained Genius, which is the Source of all useful Arts, which insensibly vanisheth as it meets with Curb, and Restraint and Oppression; and the Slave loseth his Courage to impart and communicate Arts to his Lord.

S E C T. III.

On Liberty, as the great Parent of all useful and polite Improvements ; not only in Arts, Arms and Policies, but also in the Sciences and Morality.

LIBERTY is the only genuine Parent of Civility, of Arts, of Sciences ; however coarse and rugged it may at first appear : It encourages all Industry, all Free Invention, Knowledge and Virtue with a parental Benignity, according to the different Genius of all its Sons. Hereby every one is caressed to follow the free natural Bent of his own Heart ; but he dare not pretend to teach an haughty Master, which is accusing him of *Ignorance*, with a conquering Sword in his Hand. When Men find the Sweets of LIBERTY, they will *cheerfully stay* in their native Country ; and readily contend with the Inconveniences of its Climate, Soil, or Situation ; this will soon make a Land of *Liberty* become *populous*. And, if the Country is not naturally *fruitful*, yet *Liberty* will soon make its Inhabitants *Industrious*, when they find all the Rewards of their Industry are their *own*. This will convert a *barren* Soil into a *fruitful* one, by the Skill and Industry of Agriculture. There are no Materials out of which *Liberty* will not be able to work out Politeness, Wealth and Power. The Industry and Sagacity of the *Manufacturer* creates an Estate, with which he can pay the laborious Husbandman for the Plenty which he can spare of the Fruits of the Field ; with which the Husbandman can again cloath himself comfortably. Human Nature has thus all its Wants supplied ; Men are rendered more *decent* in their Appearance, more *beautifful* in their Countenance, and more *cheerful* and *contented* in their Mien and Air ; and so more *amiable* and lovely, and agreeable in each other's Eye. Hence spring a good Nature, unsuspecting Benevolence and Charity, which makes *Society* a still greater Blessing, in these happy Regions of Liberty. Men will *invent* Arts, which they have never been *taught*, and find out Manufactures which they have never learned, or improve those which they do but imperfectly know, by a laudable Emulation to excel ; in a free Country, where every one may hope for the Benefit of his own Labour, or Invention, or Genius, or Imitation, for the Use of his own Family.

LIBERTY, the faithful Nurse of Industry, makes every Part of *Nature* fruitful. The Merchant's Skill and Mariner's Care create an Harvest on our boisterous Coasts, parallel to the Hills or Meadows, covered with Herds and Flocks, or to the fertile Plains or Valleys, covered with Grain and Fruits. The Vigilance and Labour of the Mercantile and Naval World, plow and reap the spacious Plains of the *Atlantic*, which Nature's Hand has sowed. The Banks of *Newfoundland* abound with Wealth, which the Mountains of *Potosi* do.

do not more copiously afford : And the Labours of our *British* Looms furnish Mines which the Coasts of *Mexico* or *Peru*, do more sparingly disclose.— The Silk of the *East*, the Cotton of the *West*, the Flax and Hemp of the *North*, and our own native Flocks, and Forests, and Coal Mines, minister to the Employment of the *British* Loom and Ax ; and so to the decent Pomp of the *British* Court and Senate ; the Strength of the *British* Fleet, and to the Conveniency and Decency of our Capital. So that it is probable that *Thebes*, or *Nineveh*, or the *Great Babylon*, (the Survey of whose Grandeur turned its vain Monarch's Head) had not such elegant Magnificence in their Palaces, or Imperial Robes ; nor near such useful Conveniency in their Houses, for accommodating such a Number of Inhabitants, as our modern Capitals in *this Island*, or *France*, or *Holland*, at this Time have.

This gradual Alteration in the Policies of wise Nations naturally arose from the Improvement of *Arts* ; and was not, perhaps, owing so much even to the *Sagacity* of *Statesmen*, as to *Industry* and mechanic Invention, under the Nurture of *Liberty* ; which turned the Stream of Commerce, in Spite of Edicts, into a natural Channel, leading all Buyers to those Countries where the Commodities they want can be had best and cheapest, and at the easiest Conveyance. And hence also arose another Method of *War*, as well as *Polity* ; which was not perhaps chosen by the *Sagacity* of the most able *Commanders*, but obtruded itself upon them, by the Changes in the very Nature and Circumstances of the Nations whom they commanded. The People, by the Increase of Industry, to which LIBERTY was the great Encouragement, became backward to War, when they could provide much better for themselves and Families, by staying at Home. Who would willingly engage in the Dangers of the Field, where the Industry and Fatigues were altogether as great, where Hazard was more, and the Conveniences and Advantages less ? when by staying at his own House, he could, with less Fatigue and Danger, have far better Wages, as the Reward of his Skill and Industry in domestic Trades and Occupations. Hereby it would necessarily happen that *Armies* would become fewer, and would generally be mercenary Troops. In the most civilized Countries in *Europe*, i. e. those in which *Liberty* prevails, (for no other deserve the Name of *Civilized*) the common *Soldiers* are generally Persons, who either want *Skill*, or *Care and Industry*, or both ; by which they will employ, or can maintain themselves at Home. They are hereby necessitated to repair to the Standards, for necessary Maintenance, which all very backwardly afford the Lazy. But then, as hereby *Armies* will be less numerous ; yet, as they engage in War as an *Occupation*, so they will naturally become more skilful therein. Industrious Artisans do not probably grow more skilful in their own *Arts*, than modern *Soldiers* do in the Practice of *Arms* : And the rigid Discipline of the Military Art overcomes all that natural Sloth and Carelessness, which hindered their Proficiency in, or their Application to, any other Occupations.—We must own, indeed, that there
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are other Motives besides Necessity, or Avarice, which induce many to engage in all the Labours and Dangers of War. A Sense of one Species of *Honour* engages the *Great*, such as the Princes, and Nobles, and Gentry, though they are above the Motives of Necessity, to face all the Fatigues and Dangers of War; to fight for their Country, their own large Properties, or their National Liberties, in the Benefits of which they also have so large a Share. And it is truly Honourable to fight, when it is for Liberty, not Conquest, that they endanger themselves in the high Places of the Field.—But this is not the only Honour, which a wise Man may justly aspire after. Some Persons may, according to their Taste and Education, esteem it as honourable for *them* to endeavour to *enrich* themselves and their *Country* by the honest *Gains* of Business, as by *Spoils* taken even in virtuous War. They may think it as much *Honour* to their *Integrity* and *Understanding*, (as Work for which they are most fit) to *overmanage* a neighbouring Country, by their Address, Activity and Skill in Numbers, and the Sagacity of *Commerce*; as to *overreach* them in the *Stratagems* of War, or in the *Heroism* of the Field, or the daring *Bravery* in contending Fleets. And it may be surely called truly great, to *enrich* their own *Country* by mercantile Sagacity, whereby the Current of Trade may have such a Circulation, as may tend to *impoverish* a troublesome, *rival* Neighbour: To contribute to make their own City *Great* and *Wealthy*, is a parallel Honour to that of *Burning* that of their Country's Enemy. But we may, I humbly think, decline the invidious Question, which of these Occupations is the more honourable? For the true Conclusion is, that each are truly honourable in their Nature, if they are virtuously undertaken. This *Honour*, which is nothing else but *just Praise* for brave and heroic Deeds in *War*, may be considered as a laudable Motive to engage *great Men* in the *Military Commands*; and the Hope of *Necessaries* moves the common *Soldier* to engage in this dangerous Occupation. And perhaps this Alteration made in our Nation, by the Increase of Arts and Industry, may render it a more natural Strength to such a Land of Liberty as ours, to be defended by a regular Army of native Mercenaries, provided for by Parliament; than *only* by a National *Militia*; for we should not have so good Troops, nor at so cheap a Rate. When the Tenure of our Lands was in the *Gothic* Manner, by Vassalage and Military Service, it furnished as good Troops as those of our Neighbours, raised in the same Way. And, when a *Militia* was our legal Security and Defence, after the other insensibly ceased, it might then be as well. Yet *now* such a *Militia* may have its Inconveniences in our trading Country, they would be less skilled in Arms, as not making War their Trade; they would be far more Expence, as they will not serve for so little Pay, as those who have no other Occupation to follow, but that of Arms. So that the *same Sum* would maintain near *double* the Number, and they would, as being accustomed and disciplined to Arms, be near *twice* as good Troops as a *Militia* of Artificers could be expected to be. Tho' I own there is a great Convenience

nience in having a National *Militia* near at Hand to guard every Coast or County, where any sudden Emergency arises ; and also to preserve a proper Spirit through a Land, that they may not be liable to sudden Surprizes, thro' a total Ignorance of Arms, either by Insurrections at Home, or Invasions from Abroad. Even this Degree of Acquaintance with Arms would engage our hardy, rural Youth in their Evening Diversions, to the Exercise of Arms, and fit them to be more useful for defending their own Borders, whenever regular Troops happen to be necessarily otherwise employed. But then, since *Liberty* is the Foundation of our Strength, the greatest Vigilance should be used to preserve this Darling of our Nation, from being wounded by its own Guards.

I own indeed the Situation even of Free Countries, may give some peculiar Turn and Cast to their Manners, Policies, or Wars. In Maritime Countries, both Trade and War is thought necessary to be in the same Hands : Our *British* Mariners, who follow one of the most useful Branches of Industry for their Occupation, are generally thought also to be the most fit to manage our Naval Wars. And so are an Exception from the general Rules, that prevail in Lands of Liberty, namely, having a Power to chuse either War or Trade, according to the Advantages which arise from either, in Wages or in Pay. In the Sea-Service, the natural Strength of our Island, that brave and useful Order of Men, the *British Mariners*, are abridged of their natural Liberty to *chuse* War, or let it alone ; nor is the Pay in War made answerable to their Wages in their own common Occupation, to induce them to make that Choice, whenever their Country wants their Service. They are pressed into the Royal Navy, without being informed of the Length of Time in which their Attendance will be required ; perhaps it may be to spend the best of their Days, without any proportionable Wages and Advantages for their Families, while they make others great and rich.—But further ; this embarrasses and almost embargoes all our foreign Trade ; since it makes the Wages in the Merchant's Service so exorbitantly high, by the Scarcity of Hands ; so that they must pay *double* Wages to those who cannot do *half* Work ; which makes the Expence of Navigating quadruple ; hereby an Enemy, in Rivalship with us in Trade, may insensibly get it from us. And, as this is the grand Secret, in which our great Strength lieth, there will not need Armies, or Artillery, to batter down, or blow up our Towns ; since this Decay in Trade will make them fall of themselves : It will disable us either to repair old, or build new Towns ; and to improve either Lands or Manufactures. There is such a Connection betwixt Naval Commerce, the ploughing the Ocean, and that of the fruitful Field, that all Orders of Men are really hereby weakened, from the greatest Peer, down to the meanest Labourer.

In despotic Governments these Inconveniences may be indeed prevented, where all may have *Equal Liberty*, that is, none have any Liberty. But I am only speaking of *Free Countries*, in which it is an essential Part of National Privilege, that all *good Subjects* should have the Power of chusing what Occupations they will follow; and therefore should have Advantages to induce them to the Choice of War, whenever their Country needs them, in its National Fleets particularly.—As to the Lands of Slavery, whatever Inconveniences they avoid on the Terms of the Loss of Liberty, I envy them not the Purchase, which is according to the Proverb, *Gold bought too dear*.—But 'tis a Thing much to be regretted, that all our National Penetration has not yet been able to find out, for the remedying this Difficulty, an *Expedient*, which may be *congruous* to our *Free* and noble Constitution; and that none, who are *Britons*, may be deprived of that Privilege essential to them as free *Britons*, the Right of *chusing* their Occupations in Civil Life. I cannot but hope that, thro' the Wisdom, Vigilance and Integrity of our *Senate*, the Uprightness and Experience of our *Admirals*, joined to the Observations of our *Merchants*, on the Difficulties which severally occur both to the Admiralty and to the Trade, a Method may be found out for making our Royal Navy a Seminary for Naval Armies; as our National regular Troops are for our Armies by Land; tho' I presume not to suggest, nor indeed, am capable of so much as guessing how it may be effected with the fewest Inconveniences.—But I humbly apprehend that, if this Account which I have given of the natural Changes in Nations, in the different Ages of the World, occasioned by the gradual Growth of Arts and Industry, come to be more considered; it may lead inquisitive Statesmen, not only to copy the wise Steps, which their great Predecessors took, but also to invent, and strike into new Roads of Civil Policy, which may become necessary by the Alterations in the Circumstances of their People, by the Augmentations of Trade; and may be accommodated thereto, the more amply to encourage further Growths of Industry.

It will not be questioned but our Laws made in *Henry III.* or *Edward I.* Times, when the Power of the King and the Barons was regulated; or those made in *Henry the VIIth's* Reign, when that subtil Prince found Means of checking the Exorbitancy of the *Barons* Power; or those in *Queen Elizabeth's* Time, when our Trade to *America* was in its Infancy, and when Wealth began to circulate among the Commons, who of Vassals became Rich, and so more free and independent;—I say, several of those Laws are, doubtless, capable of Alterations, or Explications, more suitable to our present Condition, since the great and happy Revolution, 1688, and our large Increase in Trade, and Arts and Sciences since that Time. And which our Parliaments have been yearly employed in altering and regulating accordingly, as the Emergencies and Necessity of Circumstances have required.—Upon the same Principles of Reason, tho' the *Civil Law*, or Law of the *Romans* was

collected from the most able, ancient Legislators of different Ages and Countries, and improved by their own Experiences, yet it is now in many Points unsynchronal to this Age and Country, as in particular, their Decisions and Regulations concerning Servants, Freedmen, Adoptions, Patrons, &c. For our prevailing Manners and Customs are so greatly altered, that there is no Necessity, and indeed no Room, for those ancient Regulations.

On this important Point of *Liberty*, I beg Leave further to add, that This, which is the most precious of all Temporal Good, must be distinguished into two Branches; namely first, a *Liberty*, or free Use of our Fortunes, Bodily Strength and *Common* Faculties, in the virtuous Use of our Substance, and inventing, or practising all the various Arts of Life, with the Security of the Fruits of our Labours to our own Use, and to be at our own Disposal; this is *Civil Liberty*. But the second Branch, namely, *Liberty of Conscience*, consists in having due Encouragement, that is, no Discouragement to free Enquiry into Truth. And this is the noblest and most sublime Branch of *Liberty*. By this we enjoy the free Exercise of our *intellectual* Faculties; hereby we may expand the Soul with Knowledge, enrich and refine it with Sciences and Arts, enlarge our reasoning Powers by this free Exercise of them, and adorn and dignify the whole Man with the Beauty and Dignity of Religion and Goodness; exalting our Nature to an higher Distance above the *brutal*, and approaching nearer to the *angelical* Nature. And tho' this *ennobling* Liberty and Industry might not have been introduced in the early Ages, notwithstanding that Parental Government prevailed; since an Emulation among Brothers or near Relations, would not so greatly stimulate to Rivalship for Wealth or Power, when the Fruits of their Care would in a good Measure be sunk in a common Stock; by the Direction of the Parent, who would have equal natural Affection for all his Children, and hereby the Slothful and the Diligent would be too much alike. Yet when afterwards, Arms and Victory set up great *Empires*, and extinguished the Remembrance of Kindred, *Liberty* was still more abridged; so that there was little Encouragement to Emulation and Industry under those new Tyrannies; it is therefore no Wonder that the Progress of Arts and Sciences was so slow. However Experience has found that Sciences, Arts and Virtue will thrive in any Climate, under the Encouragement of *Liberty*, and almost in any Age. These will flourish on the rugged Sides of the *Alps*, under the Nurture of *Liberty*; which will languish and *wither* in the fertile Plains of *Campania*, under the malignant, noxious Blasts of Slavery and Persecution. As Bishop *Burnet* has finely remarked in his *Letters*.^{*} But without *Liberty* the most propitious Climates, Air and Soil, tho' the most bounteous Grants of Providence, are, by impious Tyrants, scarce allowed to be Blessings to their unhappy Subjects. *Slavery* insensibly debases the Mind, and Men become mean and vicious they know not how: Slaves become mean-spirited even by their Condition; their Plenty

* *Burnet's Letters, passim.*

is tasteless while they have it ; their Ease joyless ; and yet they will not labour more than what is just necessary, since they know not what will be their own. They *sigh* and sicken in the most clear and *cheerful* Air ; they murmur and *repine* in the most refreshing Walks of Oranges, or aromatic Groves ; perhaps without perceiving what ails them. They are sunk into a general Habit of Meanness, by never having been accustomed to any enlarging Sentiments to give them a Sense of the Dignity of their own Nature, and their proper Rank as Men.—Again ; those, who are so unhappy as to have been brought up in the Exercises of despotic Sway, are likely to have all the Sentiments of *generous Benevolence* eradicated from, or suffocated in, their Hearts ; and, by being accustomed to think *higher* of themselves than our common Nature allows, are in Danger of being betrayed into Errors of one kind ; while the Slave, by being accustomed to think *too low* of his own Rank, will fall into Errors of another kind ; but both of them fundamentally inconsistent with the genuine Notions of human Nature, as God has wisely made it.—And now, O my Countrymen ! may I not be allowed to congratulate you on the happy Combination of so many Things that coincide for your singular Felicity ; tho' I would do it without invidious Comparison with other *Protestant* and *Free* Nations of our modern Days. I am now as a Stranger, betaking myself to rest at Home, after a long and tedious Journeying, not only thro' different Countries, but Ages. And yet, how few have my Enquiries met with, that can afford a Parallel, or Equal to our National Happiness ?——To have a Great and Good Prince, yet under legal Limitations in his Government ; ruling a *free* People according to their own Laws ; in well-adjusted and exactly calculated Quantity of Power ; maintaining *Liberty* to his People, so that all are encouraged to exercise Industry, Invention, Sagacity, or whatever their different natural Talents are, of Genius or Fortune : To have this Civil Liberty so ample, which is properly the highest that Civil Authority can go, is sure a great National Privilege. *Pater Patriæ* is indeed our Monarch's Title.—Then to have Liberty of Conscience in a *considerable* Degree, so as to have free Enquiry into Truth, at least *tolerated* ; must be a great Privilege, since few Nations have gone so far, as really to tolerate Religious Freedom. *Conscience* is, indeed, a Thing so *sacred*, and so much *above* human Cognisance, that one would wonder, *good* Kings or Senates should ever have presumed to touch it ; since every Man is made worse, in Proportion as he is influenced by any human Authority, to profess differently from his real Persuasion ; he is so far, as this Authority influences, made an Hypocrite by it ; which is a flagrant Immorality he *could* avoid, whereas it may be in several Cases *impossible* to avoid Errors. Where therefore *Sincerity* is really tolerated, we may pronounce our National Condition to be an *happy* one, tho' not the *most* happy ; since universal Charity, amidst our unavoidable Difference in Opinions, would more effectually remedy all our Distractions arising hence.—After all, tho' some natural Advan-

tages of Climate may be boasted of, by our Neighbours; yet they are much overballanced by the Civil Advantages of our *Free* Constitution. Tho' our Air may not be so serene as that of *France*, yet our Chains are not so heavy; and Chains will make Men dull and mean, and low-spirited, in Spite of Climate. No natural Levity of Constitution will operate so strongly, and act with such unnatural Buoyancy, as to make the Weight of civil Fetters imperceptible, or lift off, or annihilate the Burden of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power. Despotic Rule will let no Genius, or natural Talents thrive. If there is any Encouragement at one Time, it is so instable and precarious, that no Edifice of Industry can be built upon it. How should one have a Heart to labour in any great Improvements, when the Fruits of his Industry are not his own, or his Family's? How should any Man love Truth, or apply himself to Searches after it, who knows not but on the first Discovery of that lovely Stranger, he may be compelled to attend her into the Inquisition, or Bastile? In short, we might have expected Truth and Science to have slept an hundred Ages longer, if *Liberty* had not entered before, to bring the bashful Virgin forward. She came to *Greece* too soon for the State of the World, and therefore just appeared and withdrew; for *Liberty* stood not long enough to obtain a Naturalization. And tho' *Rome* pretended to be a Friend to *Liberty* and *Truth*, yet she soon afterwards turned all their Friends out of Doors.—But at last *Liberty*, that essential Friend to all Truth and all Improvement, found Reception here, in this happy Island; made still more so by the hospitable Entertainment of this great Stranger, who, tho' of such high Distinction and heavenly Birth, had been expelled by all the great Monarchies before. And as long as we can preserve LIBERTY, I doubt not but Arts, Sciences, Plenty, Politeness and Virtue will remain among us, and daily increase: And if we can but keep *that Hell-born Monster*, PERSECUTION, out of our Land, I fear not that Knowledge, Truth and Sincerity will ever withdraw; tho' from this pestilent Destroyer's suspicious Search, which is no other than the heavy, blind Curiosity of Ignorance and Malice, they have ever fled.

S E C T. IV.

On the Progress of the Pagans in Religious Knowledge, from the Days of Moses, to the Coming of Christ.

THO' I have not a Design, nor from the Scope of my Argument in this *Essay*, a Necessity to enlarge much on this Subject of *Pagan* Knowledge in the Matters of Religion. Yet, as I attempted near the Beginning of this Work, to explain one Way of introducing Religious Knowledge into the World, even that of primitive *Revelation* to *Adam*; and shewed that

that this was an intelligible Way of first communicating this Knowledge, and laid a Foundation for its being so extensively propagated by *Tradition*; it seems needful to enquire what Advances were really made in this Knowledge, thro' the successive Generations afterwards; and what Chronological Time can be assigned for the Periods of the successive Advancements herein.

1. I apprehend it obvious, that this Knowledge of Religion was very considerable at first. The grand Capital Points of this heavenly Science were imported very early to our First Parents themselves. In these first Lessons they were competently instructed in the Doctrine of the *Unity* of the *Divine Nature*, and the other *Perfections* of his Being; and the *Relation* which he stood in to all other inferior Beings, as He was the *Creator* and Parent of *all*; and the *Relation* in which all those *Beings* stood to him, as they were all his *Creatures*. And, tho' at that Time their Reason was tender, and they but little experienced in the Use of it, and so might be justly considered as in an Infantile State of all their Faculties, yet God proceeded with them accordingly; He took such Methods with them as corresponded to this Infant State.—He at first instructed them in very plain and simple Propositions of Truth, or Histories of Facts, the Effects whereof they could have the Evidence of their Senses for the Truth of. Thus suppose their first Lesson was this; *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*. There was only required that they should understand the Meaning of these plain Words, and they were both very short, and of the most simple Meaning and Import. And then, tho' there was some Inference and Deduction necessary, to come at some other great Truths herein comprehended; yet these were of the most obvious and easy Kind. It was arguing from one great Proposition plainly told them, and from great Works which they plainly saw. Looking on the World about them, would soon convince them, that this World was a vast and spacious Fabric, and it must be very easy to infer, that He, who made this vast Frame, was a Being of Great Power; this is but an Infant's Argument. When they saw that there was copious Food provided for all Sorts of Beings in the Animal Creation, and suitable Elements for Beasts and Fishes, Fowls and Men, to accommodate them severally according to their Natures; that there were appointed wise Returns of Day and Night, as apt Conveniences either to work, or sleep in; it certainly required no great Talents, or high Improvements in the rational Faculties, to infer, that the Being who performed all these *wise* and *good* Operations, must have been a Being of transcendent Wisdom and Beneficence.—If, again, he *warned* his Creatures against doing such Actions, and *denounced* such Punishments against them, if they should presume to disobey Him; it would require very small Strength, or Exercise of Reason, to infer, that God was their *Governor*, who assumed the Authority of commanding them; or that He was an *observant* and a *just* Governor, if He *punished* according to his *Threatenings*.—And, tho' Mankind must then have been in an Infantile State of Reason, yet there wanted

not ample Instructions on this Head, and very substantial Points of Information they were, in which they were first initiated; and from hence we may conclude that they were, even then, *capable of receiving* these great Informations, even on that sublime Subject. Their first Lesson was this; *One God made all the World*. And it is clear from *Moses*, that, as *Adam* was *capable* of receiving it, so he was *capable of teaching* it to his Children, and they *capable of apprehending* it themselves.* For his first Sons, *Cain* and *Abel*, were *capable of practising religious Worship*, before the 130th Year of the World. *Enoch* was not only a Man of exemplary Goodness, but he must have been of great Knowledge; for he prophesied of the last Judgment, *Jude*, ver. 14. His Mind was strong enough to be *capable of these sublime Discoveries*. So *Noah* and most of the pious Race of *Shem*, were *capable of Informations in Religion*; since they were *capable of bearing Testimony against the Enormities of the House of Cain*, which must presuppose their understanding of those Ways to be Enormities. But it must be owned, that they seem to have these *first Discoveries*, not by the Operations of their own Reason, but by *Revelations from God*, and probably there were many extraordinary Instructions to the World in the first Ages, as well as that first copious One in *Paradise*. †

2. Thro' all the Ages of *Paganism* after the Flood, at least after the Original Traditions from *Noah* weakened, the *Unity* and other Perfections of God were either obscurely understood, or very sparingly taught. It seemed to be almost confined to the *Hebrew Nation*. They had the most perfect Tradition of it from the *Hebrew Patriarchs*, who had successively repeated Intimations of it, and further Instructions hereupon, as appears in all their sacred Books from *Moses* to *Malachi*. But, tho' an *American Stranger*, who should read the Old Testament, could not miss this noble Lesson of the *Unity of God*, yet, whether he should betake himself to the Poets, their most ancient Writers; or their Philosophers, which are the more modern Ones, their Historians, their Legislators or Statesmen, the most considerable in any Age or Country; such a Stranger would never imagine that the Doctrine of the *Unity of God* was a *prevailing Opinion*; nay, I very much question whether he would think, by perusing their Books, that it was steadily embraced by any one of them as their singular, uniform Persuasion, which they apprehended to be of great Importance, much less that they had discovered it of themselves by their own Reason. ‡ — That there were Degrees of Perfection among their Gods, and consequently a *greatest God*, is the utmost to which their Notion of God can be carried. But that there were many other Gods, besides the *greatest*, who were thought to perform the Offices of a God, to which both Prayers and Praises were to be addressed, is, I think, plain by all their Writings, and open devotional Acts. The Notions of *Polytheism* were diffused thro' all their Language, and disseminated and incorporated into all their

* *Mr. Law's Considerations*, p. 68, 69. † *Ibid.* p. 60, 64, 67. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 130. in *Not.*

their Systems of Religion, and *Polytheism* was evidently the *popular* Opinion, and the Opinion of the *State*. All Nations were full of high Places and Temples, dedicated to their different Deities, and they had their various Priests consecrated to them accordingly; as the Priests of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, &c.—The Poets might first teach it, but the People embraced it, the Governors confirmed it, the Generals inculcated it on their Troops, and common Practice, as related by their gravest Historians, amounts to a Proof that this was the Religion of *Paganism*.

3. The *Pagan* Religion was the only Thing that did not pass thro' any Improvement or Refinement, from its first beginning to corrupt. While the Nations grew every other Way more polite, here only they retained their uncultivated *Barbarism*; nay, they degenerated even in every polishing Age.—The first Species of *false* Worship was that of worshipping the heavenly Bodies; but this doth *not* appear to have been the *first* Religion of Mankind, but a Deviation from a *better* Religion, which had before obtained.—The *Sydereal* Worship, or that of the heavenly Bodies, seems to lead up the Thoughts to God himself, and to intimate that the former Religion terminated in the great, invisible Creator. But now that vain Men begun to *reason* and speculate, they considered the heavenly Hosts as the Servants and Ministers of the Supreme Lord of all; and as created and ordained to be made Use of by Him, as mechanic Instruments of his own Original Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, in conveying all natural Benefits to us. But surely, if they pretended to Reason, they reasoned very ill, in setting up this idolatrous Homage to his Servants, in alienating from the Supreme Father, any of the Rights essentially due to his Nature, and transferring them to the heavenly Bodies, mere mechanic Tools or Instruments, which were void of all Consciousness of their own Acts towards us, or of ours towards them.

The learned Mr. Archdeacon *Law* * has very entertainingly and usefully stated the gradual Progress of the World, in Arts and *common* Knowledge; and, from the Observation of the past Advances, raised us to hope for successive additional Improvements, not only in the Sciences, but in *Religion*. I have the Pleasure to agree with that learned Gentleman in the main Part of his fine Scheme; and of Mankind's advancing gradually in the Improvement of their *common* Talents. And I hope that my Attempt, where-ever it may happen to be read, will not appear, in the main, inconsistent with this benevolent and ennobling Scheme. But yet that they had such Intelligence from on High, *gradually* imparted, just in Time, as they were *capable* of receiving it, in the Matters of Religion, seems to admit of some Doubt. The first Religion, taught by Revelation to *Adam* and *Noah*, and by them to the World, seems to have been the most plain indeed, but yet a very noble and rational Thing. The *next* Religion was a Corruption of the *former*; and, tho' the World was then at a greater Distance from its Infancy, yet it was far.

* *Mr. Law's Considerations, passim.*

far more than that which they were capable of receiving, or improving at first. Now this Corruption was a Change from that which was very noble, as far as it went; and which the first Age had; and, by these primitive Instructions, greater Advances were made in the Science of Religion, than in many Ages after; it really did attain to, viz. after they had dropt those original Notices of Truth, and the initiating Instructions of our first Parents.

Our learned Author indeed observes, that divine Dispensations may in this respect, differ from human Arts and Sciences, that these are commonly rude and imperfect at first, whereas the other have all their Purity and Perfection at once, which they are designed to have. Yet still they must be capable of receiving that Light, at the Time it was given them.

The *Pagan* Religion degenerated into greater Absurdity the further it proceeded; and it prevailed in all this Height of Absurdity, when the *Pagan* Nations were polished to the Height. Tho' they set out with the Talents of Reason, and had solid Foundations of Information to build upon: It in Fact proved, that with all their strengthened Faculties and growing Powers of Reason, the Edifice of Religion rose in the most absurd Deformities and Disproportions; and gradually went on in the most irrational disproportioned and incongruous System, of which the most easy Dictates of Reason would have demonstrated the Absurdity. They were contrary to all just Calculations in moral Mathematicks.

If there was any Thought at all of Sense and Meaning in their Actions, yet they fell into Nonsense, when they worshipped a *Star* instead of the *Maker* of it; which was withdrawing from the *greatest* Being, that Honour that was due to Him alone, and bestowing it upon a *less* Being, who could not claim or deserve it. The greatest or most *powerful* Being is, in right Reason, the Object of the greatest *Fear*; the *wisest* and most knowing Being is the Object of the *highest* Honour and *Obedience*; and the Giver of the greatest *Good* is the Object of the *highest* *Gratitude* and Love; but *Paganism* ascribed the *greatest* Fear, to a Being void of all active Power; the *greatest* Reverence, to a Being absolutely void of Understanding; and the highest Gratitude to Beings absolutely void of Design, or Benignity. It ascribed to the Sun, or Moon, or a Planet, without Consciousness of their Motions or Uses, that Honour that could be due only to the great Being who ordained their several Magnitudes, Qualities, Situations, Distances, Directions, and Quantities of Motion; all of them mere material Properties, merely passive, and acted upon by the Will of an infinite Mind, the all-wise, all-powerful, benevolent Creator. Again; they were alike absurd in their outward Acts of Worship; they offered Prayer and Praise to a Being irrational and inanimate, that could neither hear nor see, neither attend to a Supplication, or be sensible of a Distress. The Images, erected in Honour to those Deities, knew as much of their Worshipper's Affairs, while they were an unsculptured Log, or Block, in the Forest; or Marble in the Quarry. They got all their Di-

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* *Mr. Law's Considerations*, p. 53.

which by the Workman's Tool, the Statuary's Chisel inspired all the know-
ledge which the Dairy had. Again; the sacred Animals, the holy Bull, or
Goat, which still retained their bestial Nature and Faculties, could not
know more than other Bulls and Goats; and sure not more than their
wise Men, who worshipped them. Their Devotions moved forward in
Absurdity, if not greater, yet of a new Kind. They adored all the mate-
rial Elements, Earth, Water, Fire, Winds and Storms; and even the
Qualities, Virtues and Vices. And then they proceeded to the Worship
of dead Men; an Abomination begotten by Imperial Pride on abject and
flavish Slavery, which I think first began in Egypt, where was an Osten-
tation of the greatest Progress in Learning and Science. And yet all this
while they never clearly renounced any of these Abominations, or openly
returned to the primitive Worship of the one true God, the Creator of all
Things; and to the original genuine Sentiments of the highest and most
venerable Antiquity. — The Pagan Religion continued in this deep State of
Corruption to the last. Tho' Philosophers and inquisitive Men made great
Improvements in many Sciences; and even in Morality itself; yet the in-
veterate Absurdities of Pagan Idolatry remained without a Remedy. Every
Temple smoked with Incense to the Sun and Moon, and other inanimate,
material Luminaries, and the earthly Elements; to *Jupiter, Juno, Mars,*
and *Venus*, &c. The Patrons, or Examples of almost every Vice. Heca-
tombs died on the Altars of a thousand Gods, as mad Superstition inspired.
And this was not the Disgrace of our ignorant, untaught Northern Coun-
tries only; but even at *Athens* itself the Infamy reigned; and circulated
thro' all *Greece*, and finally prevailed, amidst all their Learning and Polite-
ness, under the *Ptolemys* in *Egypt*, and the *Cæsars* at *Rome*. — Now, if
the Knowledge of the Pagan World in Religion had proceeded no farther
than this; if they retained all their Deities, even the most absurd of them
all, their deified Beasts and deified Men, even to the last Breath of Pagan
Power; we may justly ascribe the great Improvements in the World, on
this Subject of Religion, to *Divine Revelation*; either vouchsafed in the Be-
ginning, when this Knowledge was competently clear and copious; or at
the Death of *Paganism*, when this Light shone forth in its consummate
Lustre, at the Coming of *Christ*. — If they had some Glimmerings of Light
borrowed from the Traditions of the primitive Revelation, and which their
Reason might have carried to a greater Perfection of Science, but in Fact
did not; yet what Knowledge they really had was a cold, ineffectual Spe-
culation, that did no Good in the World; it went no farther than the
Head, and never reached the Heart. And, tho' now and then an ex-
traordinary Genius may arise, and reach as it were some Ages beyond that
in which he lives, yet how few of his Contemporaries can follow him: *
Yet those, who propagated this Knowledge in the Beginning of Christianity,
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* Law's Considerations, p. 52.

were but plain Fishermen, not like a *Socrates* or a *Newton*. And yet their Teaching was so penetrating, that it influenced even *Artificers* and *Mechanics* to become great Proficients in the Science of Religion and Virtue. They soon learned to think more consistently on these high Subjects, than the greatest Sages of *Pagan Antiquity* ever arrived at. They soon taught not only those of *Jewish*, but those of the most gross *Pagan Education*, that there is but ONE GOD who made the whole Universe; that He is an infinite Spirit; of infinite Activity, Power, Knowledge and Goodness, Omniscient and Omnipresent; and that He created all Things, even the very Gods themselves, before whom the most learned Heathens bowed down in Adoration. — And further; their Principles of Religion never inspired them with that fine Benevolence of endeavouring to amend the under World. The divine *Socrates* taught much, but he went no great Length in the Doctrine of the Unity; though he has been called a Martyr for that Truth. *Plato* and *Xenophon* copied their great Master in many Things, but they left the World in the idolatrous Veneration for many Gods, as they found it; and, if they really discerned the Truth themselves, they meanly encouraged that Idolatry, instead of boldly testifying against it. So that we must date the true Enlargement of the human Mind in these divine Truths, from the Time of *Christ's* Coming. But then, he exemplified his own Laws in the most unexceptionable Manner, taught and inculcated the Principles of his Religion with such unanswerable Light, and such resistless Energy and Force, that it began to illuminate the whole World. And his Disciples, by his Order, made it their special Business to circulate this heavenly Knowledge, inculcate it strenuously, and to engage Men to attend to them, and rouse the World from that lethargic Dream of Ignorance, in which they had slumbered so many thousand Years.

As my Design under this Article was only to remark what the real Progress in *Religious Knowledge* actually was at *CHRIST's* Coming; so I think we may allow that they had not any general Knowledge which led them to discern this Absurdity in their general Practice, since this continued to that very Age. — And, tho' the Arts and Sciences, the Skill in War, and the Embellishments of Peace augmented so much, yet the Mind in its noblest Part, that of Religion, continued an uncultivated Desert; and this was by their own voluntary Wickedness much worse than it had been 3000 Years before.

I am now come to a Close of my Enquiries into these dark and remote Ages, in which there are so few genuine Records, and so few Traditions that can be depended on, for illustrating them. Perhaps to some they may appear too much for Necessity, and to others too little for Use, all which must be left to the Reader's Candor. I have endeavoured to shew that the first Language was most probably from Revelation, by which divine Gift the

the first Men were capable of Correspondence with each other. That the first alphabetical Writing was also imparted by Revelation, which was the means of Correspondence with different Ages: And, by the best Conjectures I could make, from ancient History, sacred or profane, compared together, it appears to me that the Knowledge of Letters could not be capable of a Transition to any other Nation from the *Hebrews*, till about the Reigns of *David* and *Salomon*: That there could be no Letters in *Egypt* before *Sbishek*; none in *Greece* before *Cadmus*; and that none are mentioned there, before *Orpheus*, *Thymetes* and their Contemporaries. But, as they all point to nearly the same Time; and, as they are capable of being traced in a constant Succession downwards, yet are never mentioned before;—I conclude that the Age of *Salomon* was about the Date of Letters, among the *Pagans*. As they can be traced from this Time, and yet cannot be made out from any other. I acknowledge this Thought led me into a strong Persuasion that this was the Time of their Derivation from the *Hebrews*, and of the proper Original of *Pagan Learning*. But as, I doubt not, there are many Inaccuracies, so I fear there may be some deficient Arguments, of which I have not been aware in the Course of the Composition, I must confide in the good Nature of the Reader. As this is a Road not commonly travelled, I hope it may be pursued with Advantage by others. And if, either by confuting or confirming this Notion of the Origin and Date of *Letters*, any Thing may be suggested, for the further clearing this obscure Region of Antiquity, I have attained my End. If now we are arrived at happier Times, we should dutifully improve them in Gratitude to the Sovereign Benefactor; and it should be accompanied with more Charity to those who never had our Advantages; along with the most benevolent Endeavours to diffuse them in the amplest Manner.

Doubtless our final Account will be in righteous and most equitable Proportion to our Talents; but we may hope that greater Privileges will be like to produce greater Improvements and add a new Dignity to our Nature. The World, even under *Paganism*, went far in Sciences and Arts, it has gone much further since under *Christianity*, and yet still is defective; but if, at last, *Religion* is encouraged to grow up, upon a clearer Knowledge of the divine Perfections, and a more rational and intelligible Piety deduced from them, we may then hope to see an Edifice of *Religion* erected in amiable grandeur, with every Science and every Virtue conspiring to adorn it, which would render Men happy in themselves and mutually agreeable to each other.

F I N I S.



The Author's Distance from the Press has occasioned the following Errata, which he begs the Reader to correct.

PREFACE, p. 41. l. 18. for, in, r. on: p. 14. l. 20. for, Cham. r. Elam. p. 24. l. 3. after Profecti, put; p. 32. l. 30. for, Armies, r. Crimes. p. 41. l. 1. r. tho' they might. p. 49. Note, add,—But such may be pretended to. p. 79. l. 31. r. where, about, two Words. p. 72. l. ult. for, & r. +. p. 74. l. 20. r. = $5\frac{1}{2}$. l. 40. dele for. p. 78. l. 3. r. Pro- portion. p. 84. l. 21. for, his, r. this. p. 105. l. 33. for, Lellis, r. Le Clerc. p. 121. l. 12. r. 1 Year to 10 Miles is equal. Proportion of 120 Years to 1200 Miles. p. 120. l. 24. for, Momius, r. Morinus. p. 121. Note, r. Rodin. p. 128. l. 4. r. erected. p. 129. l. 24. for, all owned, r. allowed. p. 134. l. 25. r. 15 and 32. p. 144. l. 10. for, miss, r. much. p. 146. l. 32. r. 393: p. 174. l. 13. r. affirmeth: p. 199. l. 10. for, Phalis, r. Phallis. p. 206. l. 36. for, one, r. a thousand. p. 213. l. 3. r. however without a Comma. l. 14. dele nor. p. 223. l. 6. for, unless, r. wherefore we must.

The Numbers in this Part, being confused, the Reader is desired to correct them by the Contents, Chap. XVI. Vol. I.

Page 224. l. 15. add, Sect. I. p. 227. l. 15. add, Sect. II. Arg. 1. p. 232. l. 1. r. been known. p. 233. l. 37. add, Arg. II. p. 235. l. 10. add, Arg. III. p. 237. l. 1. add, Sect. III.

Vol. II. p. 27. dele Note. p. 28. l. 13. after Pharaoh put; not. p. 41. l. 25. for, and, r. an. p. 42. dele the last Part of the Note. p. 47. l. 22. r. was necessary. p. 54. l. 23. r. Schultens. p. 58. l. 7. r. Trojan. p. 63. l. 15. r. Ninus. p. 91. l. ult. r. Fauna. p. 94. l. 13. r. superinduced. p. 111. l. 16. r. Ninus. l. 32. r. could. p. 119. l. 13. r. misrepresented. p. 123. l. 26. r. any one. p. 157. l. 21. r. Gorgophone + Ebalus, not Tyndar. p. 161. l. 1. r. (before they came) l. 2. r. became. p. 165. l. 17. dele but. l. 22. for, his, r. the Bastard. p. 173. l. 2. dele that. p. 176. l. 23. for, Burus r. Butus. p. 189. l. 24. r. Perichlymenus. p. 193. l. 6. r. Eurytheus. p. 195. l. 8. for, being, r. was. p. 200. l. 28. r. Eleusine. p. 221. l. 10. r. had not. p. 233. l. 29. r. Age of the Gods. p. 254. l. 16. r. impotent. p. 267. l. 19. add, before their finish- ing, and their. p. 272. l. 14. for, Sir Isaac Newton, r. Sir John Marsham. p. 274. l. 35. for, as, r. and. p. 275. prope- fin it might be soon after Anyas's Accession, tho' not soon after Atychis's Death. p. 286. l. 34. for, Josiah, r. Josuah. p. 290. l. 20. r. Inquiry. p. 302. l. ult. r. Haly's. p. 317. l. 25. r. had no Land. p. 333. l. 8. r. imparted.